

Autonomy
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aegis would
'liberate' Gaza
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Foreign News,
Page 3

'LA Times': Peres knew of network U.S. pressing Israel over extensive spying operation'

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — The State Department has asked the Israeli government to respond to new evidence uncovered by federal investigators that accused spy Jonathan Jay Pollard was part of a more extensive Israeli espionage operation in the U.S. than previously acknowledged. The Washington Post reported yesterday.

The newspaper quoted U.S. officials as saying that no response had yet been given by the Israeli government. They said the latest information could renew the controversy over Israeli spying in the U.S. and further embarrass Israel.

The Los Angeles Times reported on Friday that "a number of informed U.S. officials now believe that Peres knew of the espionage network" despite formal assurances given U.S. investigators last December that any spying had been conducted "without authority" of the Israeli government. The Times said the State Department "remains unconvinced that Peres knew the scope of espionage activities here."

The newspaper said the eventual decision of the U.S. government in releasing this latest information ab-

out an allegedly broader Israeli spy network "could affect the stability of a critical ally's government."

In a lengthy, front-page report, the newspaper said that Pollard was

By HIRSH GOODMAN
A senior Israeli source intimately acquainted with the Pollard affair, said at the weekend that he was not aware that the ring had been wider than originally reported. Officially, Israeli authorities last night said they had "no comment." They did not specifically deny the information contained in American reports on the involvement in the affair of an Israel Air Force officer.

But privately, the sources said that they were convinced that the leak in the American press had been generated by U.S. Justice Department officials frustrated by the State Department's and the administration's desire to minimize the diplomatic fallout from revelations that may emerge during the trial.

"In fact one link in an organized and well-financed Israeli espionage ring operating within the U.S." It said the continuing investigation "will produce at least one additional

arrest and has brought both American and Israeli citizens under suspicion."

The suspects are said to include an unnamed Israeli Air Force official — described by The Los Angeles Times as "a regular U.S. visitor, ostensibly here for educational purposes, who is believed to have been the 'master case officer' for U.S. intelligence operations."

The newspaper quoted one unnamed U.S. official as saying: "The Israelis lied to us. This was no small-time rogue operation; it was much more systematic than that. This was a very expensive operation that they ran. There's no embassy slush fund big enough to cover that sort of thing."

Late last night, the Israeli Embassy issued a carefully-drafted statement terming as "baseless" all of the most recent U.S. news media allegations of a wider Israeli spy operation in the U.S.

The statement said that the Pollard affair was an "unauthorized deviation from the clear-cut Israeli policy of not conducting any espionage activities whatsoever within the United States."

The New York Times yesterday (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Ministers fail to agree on ways of investigating GSS scandal

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
Consultations in Jerusalem this weekend between Prime Minister Peres and senior ministers and officials failed to produce an agreed formula for the investigation of Avraham Shalom, the head of the General Security Services, who is suspected of a series of crimes in connection with the Tel Aviv-Ashkelon bus hijacking in April 1984.

At a meeting on Friday evening at Peres's Jerusalem residence attended by cabinet secretary Yossi Beilin, Communications Minister Rubinstein, Police Minister Bar-Lev and lawyer Ram Caspi, there was agreement that an investigation of Shalom was unavoidable and, now, necessary.

There seems to have been a marked preference for an investigation by a judicial commission of inquiry rather than by the police.

Following the meeting, several participants, including Caspi, who has advised the GSS head on a number of occasions, met Shalom outside the King's Hotel, in Jerusalem.

Peres is today expected to give his first full report on the affair to the full cabinet. Several ministers are expected to endorse an investigation of the GSS chief and several of his aides, and possibly to plump for a judicial rather than police inquiry.

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir has not yet been told of any decision to switch tack from a police to judicial commission inquiry.

Zamir, who has already instructed the police to start an investigation of the GSS chief and several of his aides, is understood to be open to the idea of a judicial commission of inquiry.

The preference among some ministers for a judicial commission rests on the assumption that the GSS chief and his aides need not be suspended once such an inquiry is launched, whereas a police inquiry, in addition to automatically curtailing shadow over those being investigated, requires that they be suspended.

Zamir has demanded that Shalom and his suspected aides be sus-



Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein (left) and cabinet secretary Dr. Yossi Beilin enter attorney Ram Caspi's car on Friday evening following a meeting with ministers at the prime minister's residence. Caspi has been appointed to advise the head of the General Security Services on the legal aspects of the case. (Dan Landau)

pended at the start of the police investigation, which is to begin shortly after the return of Police Inspector-General David Kraus from a holiday abroad on Tuesday or Wednesday. But Zamir has so far not commented or, apparently, decided on whether or not the GSS heads should be suspended if a commission of inquiry is launched. Persons under investigation by judicial commissions can be sent "on leave" for their duration, it is understood.

The preference for a judicial inquiry also rests on the possibility that such a commission, composed usually of eminent jurists, senior defence personnel and senior officers, would be capable of formulating a "code of behaviour" for the GSS as part of its recommendations, and able to maintain secrecy in its proceedings.

But some ministers, including Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who was premier and thus ministerial responsible for the GSS at the time of the bus hijacking, are thought to be wary of a judicial commission, in part because of the

eminence of the public figures likely to sit on it. That eminence would assure the commission great freedom in determining what they are to investigate and pass judgment on, whatever the initial terms of reference set out by the cabinet. The commission could also, during its investigations, ask the cabinet to amend its terms of reference — something the cabinet would find it politically difficult to deny.

Given such leeway, a commission of inquiry would not be likely to restrict itself to the GSS personnel, but would in all probability also investigate the roles of the political echelon in the affair, starting from the alleged order to the security men to kill the two Arab terrorists captured from the hijacked bus, and continuing through the various stages of the alleged GSS cover-up and the Zorea and Blatman commissions of inquiry into the affair in 1984-85.

It is understood that Zamir, during the months he probed the affair, and before deciding to submit it to

police investigation, interviewed Shalom about the affair. He also sought to interview several other senior GSS officials implicated in the killings or the cover-up, but they refused to see him.

This is contrary to Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin's statement to TV on Friday night, when he said that Zamir had decided on an investigation without first hearing the "other side." Rabin appealed to Zamir to halt the police investigation and first hear out those allegedly implicated in the affair.

Government sources said yesterday that Shamir might have given the alleged order to kill the two terrorists by radio telephone while they were being interrogated or have given Shalom instructions, before the bus was stormed, to kill any surviving terrorists. It is also believed that he knew of, or was party to, the alleged cover-up.

Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens, defence minister in 1984 and on the spot during the IDF command- (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)



Italy's Alessandro Altobelli (right) celebrates after scoring the first goal of the 1986 World Cup, along with teammate Antonio Cabrini. Bulgaria equalized late in the game to hold champions Italy to a draw. (Sports — Page 7) (Reuters telephoto)

Champions Italy held to draw as World Cup opens

MEXICO CITY (AP). — Tens of thousands of chanting, flag-waving soccer fans filled the Aztec Stadium yesterday for the World Cup opener between defending champions Italy and Bulgaria, amid a massive show of security.

The game ended in a 1-1 draw. (See story — Page 7)

Police and soldiers armed with semi-automatic rifles lined the streets near the stadium, and thousands more troops and police stood guard in and around the arena as a military helicopter circled overhead.

As fans filed into the bowl-shaped stadium to seats on the four tiers, (Continued on back page)

Drastic cut 'vital' in water consumption

Jerusalem Post Reporter
More drastic water consumption cuts must be enforced this summer, or many of the country's underground water sources may be "irreversibly damaged" by the intrusion of seawater, a group of water scientists told Agriculture Minister Arye Nehamkin on Friday.

Prof. Hillel Shoval, of the Hebrew University, said that the group recommended limiting withdrawals

from ground water sources to the natural replenishment rate. This, he said, meant that there should be a 300 million cu.m. drop in consumption this summer, instead of the 140m. cu.m. cut the ministry has planned.

Shoval noted that the current water crisis was the result not only of the drought, but also of poor water planning and overpumping in the past 10 years.

On Thursday, Shoval told the Knesset's Water Committee that Nehamkin's proposal to cut water prices to farmers would encourage waste, since water is already heavily subsidized. The proposed price cut was to reflect the drop in fuel and electricity prices.

The group is soon to meet Premier Peres to demand that the government adopt more stringent water conservation policies.

State archivist urges release of sensitive Holocaust files

By BENNY MORRIS
Post Diplomatic Correspondent
A seven-year archival tug-of-war, with possibly major implications for the historiography of the Holocaust, may be coming to an end following Thursday's demand by the Supreme Archives Council that the Histadrut at last open the "Schwab Papers".

In a telegram to Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar, the council demanded that the Histadrut open the Schwab files and permit the state archives to microfilm them.

Nathan Schwab, now Dror, was the Hehalutz emissary in Geneva from 1939 to 1946. During his posting, he amassed some 140-170 files of correspondence and memoranda, much of it dealing with the Holocaust and the Yishuv's efforts (or lack of them) to help Jews escape

from the Nazis. Schwab is known to have had long, bitter conflicts with other Jewish representatives in Geneva during World War II.

Schwab-Dror deposited the files some years ago in the Histadrut's labour archive, in the Lavon Institute. Subsequently, he took home some 30-40 of these files. Throughout, he and the Histadrut have treated the files as his personal property, refusing access to them.

It is unclear to Israeli historians why Schwab has been so consistently hostile to any opening of the files. "There is a suspicion that, for some reason, he is afraid to open them," says Israel State Archivist Avraham Alsborg.

Alsborg says that the files are official, and not a personal collection. (Continued on back page)

Mubarak: No 'Gaza first' autonomy

ISMALIYA (AP). — President Mubarak yesterday rejected proposals to bring self-rule to the Gaza Strip without settling the status of the West Bank.

Prime Minister Peres has suggested that Israel and Egypt jointly supervise an autonomous Palestinian government in the Strip.

Former Gaza mayor Rashad Shawwa suggested Egyptian-supervised Palestinian autonomy during a visit with Mubarak some weeks ago. He said the plan could be the first step in a pre-agreed overall return of all lands occupied by Israel since 1967.

"Shawwa came to Cairo and talked to us about this issue," Mubarak told reporters yesterday. "This is something I cannot discuss separately from the West Bank issue, and I cannot work on it alone separate from the West Bank issue or behind the back of King Hussein."

Shawwa said the Egyptian leader had promised him that he would discuss the idea with Hussein and PLO leader Yasser Arafat.

The 77-year-old Shawwa said his plan envisioned Jordan regaining control of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, with Syria regaining the Golan Heights and Egypt administering Gaza. He said once the Israelis were gone the ultimate status of the territories would be decided among the Arabs themselves.

The "Gaza first" proposal was reportedly also made to Egyptian officials in Israel by a group of pro-PLO Palestinians from East Jerusalem in response to King Hussein's harassment of PLO activists in Jordan and the West Bank.

Mubarak reportedly discussed the idea at a meeting with Hussein in Akaba on May 11 when the king was said to have vehemently rejected it.



Prime Minister Peres takes a break from a top-level meeting on the security scandal Friday afternoon at his Jerusalem residence, to take a stroll with his granddaughter. (Dan Landau)

Labour: GSS probe could lead to Shamir

By ROY ISACOWITZ
Post Political Reporter

The Labour Party is adopting a deliberately non-political posture in the Avraham Shalom affair, though party members do not discount the possibility of a clash with the Likud if and when the investigation into the activities of the General Security Services and its head turns the spotlight on Yitzhak Shamir, who was prime minister, and thus directly responsible for the Shin Bet, at the time of the April 1984 bus hijacking, and its aftermath that is at the heart of the GSS scandal.

Labour's approach is based on the belief that it would be suicidal to allow the Likud to appear to be the sole protector of the GSS, with Labour appearing "soft" on security. But one minister told The Jerusalem Post that he had "good reason to believe" that the Likud would come out of an inquiry "looking very bad."

So far, Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman is the only Alignment minister to have openly mentioned the possibility of Shamir's culpability. Shamir should "stand up like a man and tell what he knew then," (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

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FRANKFURT	6	11	16	Cloudy
GENEVA	5	10	15	Cloudy
HELSINKI	10	15	20	Cloudy
HONG KONG	25	29	33	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	15	20	25	Cloudy
LONDON	16	21	26	Cloudy
MADRID	4	9	14	Cloudy
MONTREAL	10	15	20	Cloudy
NEW YORK	12	17	22	Cloudy
PARIS	6	11	16	Cloudy
PRAGUE	8	13	18	Cloudy
ROME	10	15	20	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	17	22	27	Cloudy
TOKYO	13	18	23	Cloudy
VIENNA	11	16	21	Cloudy
ZURICH	4	9	14	Cloudy

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THE WEATHER

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	29	11-24	26
Golan	29	10-27	29
Nahariya	29	6-27	29
Safed	33	12-25	27
Haifa Port	33	12-25	27
Tiberias	23	16-32	34
Nazareth	33	14-29	28
Afula	40	12-29	30
Shomron	30	12-26	28
Tel Aviv	45	15-26	26
B-G Airport	45	15-26	26
Jericho	22	18-34	35
Gaza	55	19-25	26
BeerSheva	24	17-30	31
Eilat	16	21-36	37

Doubts over Burg's pledge to quit

By GERSHON GORENBERG
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A month before Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg is scheduled to resign, he no longer appears willing to commit himself to carry out his promise to give up his cabinet post.

Burg told the National Religious Party executive last December that he would leave office when the party held its convention or on June 30, whichever came first. The convention is scheduled for late June or early July. But, asked on Friday about his plans for after the convention, Burg would only tell *The Jerusalem Post*: "At the end of June, I'll declare what I'm doing."

Other NRP figures have told *The Post* that they are concerned lest Burg refuse to resign and thus spark a battle in the party.

Burg termed the NRP internal elections, scheduled for Tuesday, "the most controversial system of elections I ever heard of. I don't know if it is at all democratic." But he added that he had agreed to the vote so that factions within the party would no longer be able to speak more loudly than is justified by their support among members.

Party members are to elect convention delegates by a personal vote in each party branch. In past elections members voted for faction lists, and not specific candidates.

STRIKE. - Workers at Electra Industries, which employs about 300 people, went on strike last week to protest wage conditions.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

Bank of Israel report slams Mandelbaum's policy

'High interest rates harmed economy'

By AVI TEMKIN
Post Economic Reporter

The Bank of Israel's annual report, due to be released today, criticizes the monetary policy of the bank's governor Moshe Mandelbaum and its monetary department. The report says the policy of high interest rates implemented in the second half of 1985 was costly and unnecessary, and failed to reach its stated goals.

Mandelbaum presented the report over the weekend to the government and the Knesset Finance Committee. But contrary to his previous pledge, he failed to announce when he would resign, in compliance with the recommendations of the Bejski Commission.

The Likud and the Labour Party have not yet been able to agree on a candidate to replace Mandelbaum. According to central bank sources,

the governor hopes for a continuation of this situation which enables him to continue.

The *Jerusalem Post* has learned that the report contains several points critical of the policy Mandelbaum pursued in 1985.

The report says that the prolonged high level of interest rates in 1985 harmed the business sector and economic activity. It says that the average cost of free shekel credit rose to about 100 per cent in real terms in 1985. The aim was to reduce the volume of credit during the first months of the economic plan, but this policy backfired. Firms were unable to pay the high interest charges, thus increasing their total indebtedness.

The report states that the high interest rates resulted partly from a lack of confidence in the ability of the economic plan to bring down the inflation rate. It adds that high interest rates

increased the debts of non-profit institutions, particularly in the public sector. The report warns that this could cause a future rise in government spending, when the time comes for the government to cover such debts.

According to the report, the Bank of Israel and the Treasury were partly responsible for the failure of the "package deal" implemented in early 1985. The bank's refusal to freeze the rate of exchange during the first package deal, from November 1984 to February 1985, pushed up production costs, making maintenance of the freeze impossible.

Thus, the report says, despite favourable conditions at the beginning of the package deal, the inflation rate at its conclusion was back at the 1984 level, making it necessary to launch the emergency stabilization plan in July 1985.



Former Soviet chess champion Boris Galko, 39, his wife Anna and their son David, 7, arrive Friday at Ben-Gurion Airport, following a seven-year wait for an exit visa. Boris and Anna, both mathematicians, have studied Hebrew for the past year.

(Andre Brummann)

Rabbi held for spray-paint attack on bus stop bikini ads

By YORAM GAZIT
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. - Kiryat Shalom Rabbi Shmuel Cohen was remanded in custody on Friday for four days by the magistrates' court here on suspicion of spray-painting two advertisements depicting women in bikinis that had been posted in bus stop shelters. The incidents took place last Thursday.

The police said in court that the spraying or burning of bus shelters had become widespread and must be dealt with firmly.

In Petah Tikva, four ultra-Orthodox men were arrested as they clashed with police during an illegal

demonstration led by the city's chief rabbi Baruch Salomon, against the screening of movies in the Heichal Cinema on Friday night.

Three were released that night after undertaking to report to the police last night, after the termination of the Sabbath. The other, a 40-year-old employee of the Mizrahi Bank, was detained by police on suspicion of attacking a policeman. He will be brought to court today for the extension of his remand.

In Jerusalem on Friday, the magistrates' court sentenced two students of the Toldot Aharon yeshiva in Mea She'arim to jail terms for damaging three bus-stop shelters.

Seventeen killed in bus accident in California

BRIDGEPORT, California (Reuters). - Seventeen people were killed and 24 injured when a bus carrying elderly gambling fans home from a trip to Nevada casinos swerved off a winding mountain road and plunged into a river, police said.

Israeli authors in E. Berlin

By WLADIMIR STRUMINSKI
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

BONN. - A group of Israeli writers last Friday visited East Berlin at the invitation of the East German Writers' Union, the first time such an event has taken place.

The Israeli writers, including A.B. Yehoshua, Yehoshua Sobol and Dahn Ben-Amotz, came to Berlin from Bonn, where they had participated in a West German-Israeli writers' meeting organized by the West German Liberal Party's Friedrich Naumann Foundation. They were joined in East Berlin by MK Mordechai Virshupski.

Virshupski lasted for just over three hours. Virshupski criticized East Germany for not yet having recognized the State of Israel. Other Israeli participants asked why East Germany had not paid restitution to Jews persecuted by the Nazis. The Germans replied that East Germany was, and still is, financially weaker than West Germany, and is also burdened by having to pay reparations to the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, Nazi victims living in East Germany receive special pensions, they said.

French nuclear device tested in South Pacific

WELLINGTON, New Zealand (AP). - France yesterday exploded the largest nuclear device of its tests this year at Mururoa Atoll. The 20 kiloton blast followed two other tests this month - of three kilotons and two kilotons - and one last month of 4 kilotons.

The acting New Zealand prime minister, Geoffrey Palmer, whose country monitored and reported the blast, said New Zealand's opposition to the French tests was a matter of public record.

Hiroshima Mayor Takeshi Araki sent a telegram protesting the test to French ambassador to Japan.

SWAZI. - King Mswati III of Swaziland has dissolved the country's ruling body, the liqogo, or supreme council of state, in an apparent bid to end a four-year struggle for power between the liqogo and the royal family.

16 killed in Beirut battles

BEIRUT (AP). - Shi'ite Amal militiamen and Palestinians fought their heaviest battles in two weeks yesterday in the war for control of the city's refugee camps. Police said 16 people had been killed and 67 wounded.

Shi'ites pounded the Sabra, Shatila and Bourj al-Barajneh camps with Syrian-supplied T-34 tanks and Soviet-made rocket launchers without let-up all day, police said.

Diehard Palestinians charged out of the dusty alleys of the besieged camps to fire armour-piercing rock-

ets and hurl grenades in repeated hit-and-run assaults.

The thunder of shell blasts echoed throughout the Lebanese capital as the fighting raged unabated through a 13th day despite appeals for a cease-fire from the Soviet Union, Iran, Algeria and Tunisia.

Yesterday's casualty toll was the heaviest for a single day since the current round of the one-year-old intermittent war for control of the camps broke out on May 19. Since then 49 people have been killed and 289 wounded.

No profit from Gaza, says official

By LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The deputy coordinator of government activities in the territories yesterday denied that Israel was making money on the Gaza Strip. Speaking on Israel Radio's English-language programme, Colonel Fredy Zach termed inaccurate the report, by Dr. Meron Benvenisti's West Bank Data Base Project, that \$3.5 million a year in tax revenues from the strip exceeded the government budget for services there. Gaza tax revenues accounted for only two-thirds of what the Israeli government spends in Gaza, Zach said. The

remaining third came from Israeli taxpayers.

Zach said that unemployment in Gaza was only 2 per cent, that the standard of living was higher in the Strip than in Egypt and Jordan, and that new industrial parks had been created in Gaza.

He also denied the claim made in the Benvenisti report that a third of the Gaza Strip had been declared state land and was allocated solely for Jewish settlements. State land had also been used to settle 10,000 refugee families outside the camps, as well as for industrial and municipal projects to benefit local Arab residents, Zach said.

SPY RING

(Continued from Page One)

reported that an Israeli military officer was expected to be charged in the next several days with participating in the espionage operation. It did not name the officer, his rank, or his whereabouts.

The *Times* quoted Reagan Administration officials as saying that federal prosecutors were close to a plea bargain with Pollard that would require him to cooperate in an investigation that had strained ties between the U.S. and Israel.

Pollard, in jail since his arrest last November, has reportedly been providing U.S. authorities with extensive information about Israel's alleged espionage operation in the U.S. as part of his continuing plea bargaining. The *Post* reported on Friday that federal prosecutors and Pollard's lawyer "are close to reaching an agreement."

An Israeli Embassy spokesman in Washington, Yosef Gal, said that he knew nothing of these latest reports. He referred reporters to a statement issued by the State Department last December 20 that effectively sought to resolve the dispute with Israel. That statement had expressed "full" satisfaction with Israel's cooperation into the Pollard investigation.

Gal said the State Department had not contacted the Israeli Embassy in Washington over any new information about an allegedly broader espionage ring. He said he was unaware of any direct contact between the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv and the Israeli government.

But the *Post* yesterday said that new evidence had emerged since the visit by a high-level U.S. delegation

to Israel last December. That inter-agency delegation, including officials from the State Department, Justice Department, the Pentagon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the U.S. Attorney's Office for the District of Columbia and the Central Intelligence Agency, was led by Judge Abraham Sofaer, the State Department legal adviser.

Sofaer has just returned to Washington from visits to Israel and Egypt, where he sought unsuccessfully to reach an agreement setting the terms of reference for arbitration of the Tabu border dispute. The *Post* yesterday said that Sofaer, while in Israel, had also "made it clear that the U.S. wants a response" on these latest Pollard-related allegations.

The newspaper said that U.S. Justice Department officials had pressed for disclosure of the full dimensions of the Pollard case and had been concerned that the State Department "is trying to limit public testimony in court involving the new information." The State Department is said to be more concerned about the ultimate damage to U.S.-Israeli relations.

On Friday, State Department spokesman Charles Redman said: "We have worked closely with the Department of Justice to ensure full enforcement of U.S. laws in this case, and we are continuing to do so."

At a news briefing, Redman declined to discuss additional aspects of the case since it was still under "investigation." He noted, however, that he had "no reason to change" any of the State Department's earlier statements on the Pollard case.

GSS SCANDAL

(Continued from Page One)

do assault on the hijacked bus, is understood to have told newsmen immediately afterwards that two of the terrorists had been killed and two captured. Observers think it unlikely that he would have done this had he intended immediately afterwards to order the killing of the two captured terrorists. Arens was understood to have been "shocked and surprised" on learning a few hours later that the two captured terrorists had died.

Justice Minister Yitzhak Moda'i said over the weekend that at one stage in the attorney-general's investigation Zamir had recommended that Shalom resign and thus avoid a police investigation and revelation of the affair.

Zamir tends to regard the alleged

cover-up of the killings as more serious than the killings themselves. The killings took place more or less in the heat of battle, the security personnel involved were "excited," the two captured men were terrorists, and an IDF woman soldier had died as a result of the hijacking. These Zamir sees as extenuating circumstances.

But the subsequent cover-up, which was allegedly systematic and organized, lasted for 16 months, and allegedly involved suborning witnesses and tampering with evidence. This has cast doubt on the credibility of the GSS and undermined its relations with the judiciary and other organs of state, and is, in a sense, far more serious, and has far more detrimental impact, according to Zamir.

LABOUR

(Continued from Page One)

Weizman said in an TV interview on Friday night. Weizman also suggested that Shamir should tell his version of the events to an investigator. He did not specify which investigator.

Other ministers are much more cautious when it comes to implicating their political rivals. Economic Minister Gad Ya'acobi told *The Post* last night that the inquiry must focus on all those involved in the hijacking and its aftermath, including the politicians. But he cautioned that it would be wrong to prejudice the inquiry at this stage.

Labour now believes that an inquiry is unavoidable, though opinions differ over whether it should be conducted by the police or by a judicial commission. Even Prime

In the eye of the storm

IN PERSON

By BENNY MORRIS

Sometime during the lengthy wrangle between Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir over the future of the head of the General Security Service, Peres proposed a compromise whereby a lone, security-minded investigator (possibly a former GSS chief) be appointed to submit preliminary conclusions before Zamir decided whether to hand the case to the police. Zamir, according to cabinet secretary Yossi Beilin, rejected the idea. "Perhaps he saw it as undermining his position," suggests Beilin. Or perhaps it was because Peres had refused to complement the idea by suspending GSS chief Avraham Shalom from duty as Zamir had demanded. In any case, nothing came of the proposal, and Zamir submitted his instructions to the police to open an investigation.

Beilin, Peres's closest political adviser, has been in the eye of the storm since its backstage beginning. He has been the major liaison in the affair between the prime minister and the attorney-general. Like Zamir, he regards the affair as a major, "once-in-a-generation" event. He does not think the cabinet dealt with it wrongly. The senior ministers "dealt with it in a way stemming from its seriousness, complexity and unprecedented nature," he says.

He believes that it has already had a major positive effect: "With all the pain and anguish, it casts Israel in a positive light, as a society that investigates and confronts (difficult problems). And one must not forget that in the showdown between the cabinet and the attorney-general when all's said and done, it is the attorney-general's view that has prevailed." The cabinet - meaning Peres - did not make use of its right to fire Zamir, Beilin said.

Beilin says that Peres and the other senior ministers opposed an investigation out of a sincere fear that this would ultimately lead to the exposure of the GSS's modus operandi "and its sophisticated methods."

"The press thought that there had been an attempt to illegitimately pre-



Yossi Beilin

vented a police investigation. This is not true. Zamir brought the matter to the ministers and they, in accordance with the law, tried to persuade him to desist from ordering an investigation. This is perfectly legitimate. There was no pressure on Zamir. 'Pressure' means 'do or don't do something, otherwise this or that will happen to you.' A threat. There was never any threat here," says Beilin.

Beilin sees nothing amiss or illegitimate in the government's initial and aborted effort to prevent publication of the whole affair. "It was clear that publication would cause damage. (The government) gambled. It tried to prevent publication. It failed. Look, in almost every matter where censorship applies, there is a danger of a leak. Does that mean we must scrap military censorship altogether? The moment (in this case) things were published abroad, censorship was lifted. The censorship acted in accordance with its judgment," Beilin implicitly denies that the censors imposed political as well as security censorship in the affair.

In the long, historical perspective, Beilin believes that already "some security damage has been done, to a sensitive organization, and this damage may increase, whether or not the original complaints (against the GSS chief and his aides) have a solid foundation." But in depicting Israel as "law-abiding and democratic," the affair has done Israel good.

Will the case reach the political echelon? "I don't know," says Beilin, adding: "To answer is possible only if you accept the assumption that the allegations (against Shalom) are true. I don't accept this assumption."

Briton wanted for fraud found living in Israel

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. - A British businessman, who skipped bail before his trial in the UK on fraud charges, has been living with his wife and son in Ramat Hasharon for the past few months. *The Jerusalem Post* learned last week.

The South Yorkshire police last week asked Interpol to contact the Israeli authorities with a view to starting extradition procedures for Anthony Newton, wanted in England on charges of conspiring to defraud creditors of a firm for which he was appointed as liquidator.

Newton was charged with fraud last year, after it had emerged that none of the creditors for a firm he was winding up had received any of the assets he had allegedly realized.

He was released on bail by the Sheffield Magistrates Court after depositing his passport at the Chapeltown police station in Leeds, to which he was ordered to report once a week. But last August he failed to report to the police station. His wife told reporters he had left her and she had no idea of his whereabouts.

Although his description was circulated at ports and airports, Newton was believed to have

escaped abroad and Interpol was asked to look for him in Europe.

Earlier this year, a Ramat Hasharon resident, who filed an insurance claim in Israel, gave Newton's name as "Anthony Newton," Leeds address: "Rimondway," Leeds. Address: "Private detective: Aaron Sivan." Investigating the case for the insurance company, found that the man listed at that address was wanted by the British police. The Ramat Hasharon claimant's name is Avraham Noy.

Noy's mailbox at 5, Moriah Street, Ramat Hasharon also bears the name Anthony Newton. Newton's wife's name is Leah. Noy's wife's name is Leah. The Newtons' son's name is Darin; the Noy's son's name is Daron.

Noy's neighbours said that the Noy's had gone to England for a vacation and were due back in Israel next week. They identified a photograph of Newton obtained from *The Yorkshire Post* as Noy.

British police sources doubt whether Newton could be back in England, since he would have been arrested immediately as a wanted person had he tried to enter the country.

They reportedly learned that he was living in Israel from a reporter whom *The Yorkshire Post* sent to look for Newton.

Company accused of hiring while firing

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. - Carmiel's Labour Council has accused the management of Cyclone Aviation Products of taking on workers while trying to dismiss 18 senior employees as part of "efficiency cuts." A labour dispute has been declared in protest against the company's action.

Council secretary Ezra Pick told *The Jerusalem Post* last night there was evidence that Cyclone had engaged four new workers with the same trade qualifications as some of those threatened with dismissal.

"We will not accept a situation of this kind under any circumstances. If no agreement is reached within the next fortnight, we will take strike action," said Pick.

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Tamil separatists kill 46 in Sri Lanka blasts

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka. - Forty six people were killed here and scores injured in three terrorist attacks during the past 48 hours. The incidents were linked to Tamil separatists.

Yesterday a bomb ripped through a crowded Colombo-bound passenger train killing 15 people and injuring 24 others, railway sources said.

Sri Lanka's national security minister said two earlier incidents at a bottling plant in Colombo and amid an army convoy in the troubled eastern Trincomalee Province were caused by carelessness.

"The landmine in the attack on the troops could have been avoided if they had followed specific instructions by my ministry to walk when going on patrol," said Lalith Athulathududali.

Twenty soldiers and a civilian driver were killed when their truck struck a landmine near the village of

Palatopur near Trincomalee, Sri Lanka, broadcasting said.

It said 10 workers died in the explosion at Ceylon Cold Stores Ltd., where a bomb hidden in a truck filled with empty bottles blew up, setting off a fire and sending shards of glass flying in all directions.

The security minister said: "This particular company had been forewarned to watch out for a bomb... and was told to check trucks coming into the company premises." Officials at the company, who insisted on anonymity, said they had received no such warning.

Police had said Thursday they were investigating reports of a widespread Tamil sabotage plan. On Friday, President J. R. Jayawardene warned the public to watch out for attacks on roads and in public buildings.

Police said Tamil separatists were believed responsible for the blast at the bottling plant.

Police and company officials later confirmed that two Tamil security guards at the plant had been arrested Saturday on suspicion of aiding the bombers.

India, which has a large Tamil population in the south, has been trying to mediate between the separatists and government.

Meanwhile, Denmark yesterday became the latest country to refuse political asylum to 23 Tamils fleeing violence in Sri Lanka who have been stranded in Poland since December.

A spokesman for the group in Warsaw said that rejection of the application came one day before their Polish visas were due to expire, but authorities in Warsaw then granted them an extra two weeks stay.



Extremist white leader Eugene Terreblanche, surrounded by followers waving Nazi-like flags, arrives yesterday at an Afrikaner shrine in Pretoria to take part in a celebration marking the 25th anniversary of the Republic of South Africa. (Reuters telephoto)

S. African whites rally hits even limited race reforms

PRETORIA (AP). - About 10,000 whites gathered yesterday in the shadow of an Afrikaner shrine to mount a united challenge against the government's limited race reforms. It was the first joint rally by the nation's four ultra-conservative movements.

"As a white nation, we wish to survive in freedom in our own fatherland. We demand to be governed by our own people. If you share power, you lose it," declared Andries Treurnicht, leader of the far-right Conservative Party.

The rally followed a surge in public attention focused on the ultraright in white politics. Long considered a fanatical fringe with little support, far-right groups have disrupted four rallies by the governing National Party in recent weeks, claiming a strong new power base because of President P. W. Botha's cautious race reforms and his pledge to share power with the voteless black majority in a system that would still protect white rights.

The turnout at the Voortrekker Monument, on a hillside near Pretoria, fell far short of predictions by some organizers that 40,000 to 50,000 would attend. Most of the outdoor amphitheatre near the monument was empty, backing up the claim by Botha's government that the far-right is noisy but not representative of Afrikaner thinking.

The rally was held on Republic

Danes cut trade ties

In Copenhagen, the Danish parliament Friday approved an opposition motion to ban trade with South Africa in protest at its apartheid race policies, making Denmark the first Western country to take this step.

Danish imports from South Africa in 1985 were worth 1.7 billion crowns (now \$200 million) but 80 per cent were coal imports, which Denmark banned earlier this month.

Exports last year, mainly farm machinery, chemicals and drugs, totalled 613 million crowns (\$72 million). Medicine exports are exempted from the new trade ban.

Day, the 25th anniversary of the formation of the Republic of South Africa after the nation split from the British Commonwealth.

Meanwhile, at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University large riot police contingents prevented students from holding an education conference transferred to the campus after a planned meeting at Soweto to township was banned.

The meeting was called by black student organizations to discuss the introduction of an alternative education system.

Police yesterday fired teargas grenades and arrested 47 people at the campus following protest marches by students angered by the arrest of one of their leaders.

Italy expels Libyan Fiat shareholder

ROME (Reuters). - One of 12 Libyans ordered to leave Italy Thursday night is the head of a Libyan company owning a minority stake in Fiat, Italy's biggest industrial concern, a police spokesman said Friday.

The spokesman said Naas

Mehemed Shewi, director of The Libyan Arab Foreign Investment Bank, was in a group of Libyans told to leave Italy within three days for "activities unfriendly towards Italy."

Ariane rocket failure hits Euro-space plans

PARIS. - The failure of a European Ariane-2 rocket, which was blown up over the Atlantic by controllers Friday night, has thrown the Western powers' satellite launching capability into disarray. Future launchings will be delayed until the cause of the accident is resolved, it was announced yesterday.

The third stage completely failed to ignite, sending the rocket plunging towards the Atlantic from an altitude of 200km just 4 1/2 minutes after blast-off from the jungle space centre at Kourou in French Guiana.

The rocket and the Intelsat telecommunications satellite it was carrying were worth \$90 million.

The aborted mission follows the U.S. space shuttle disaster and other

setbacks by the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Arianespace currently has 32 satellite launch contracts on its books worth around 10 billion francs (\$1.45b.) and has been under pressure from satellite operators to step up its launch schedule to ease the backlog caused by the grounding of the U.S. shuttle.

But the president of Arianespace said in Kourou yesterday that future launches of Ariane rockets will be delayed until the resolution of Thursday's ignition problem.

Frederic d'Allest told a news conference, however, that launchings of the European rocket probably would not be delayed beyond the end of the year and could get under way much sooner. (Reuters, AP)

FOREIGN NEWS IN BRIEF

Union Carbide can pick Bhopal trial site

NEW YORK (Reuters). - Union Carbide must decide within two weeks whether it wants damages claims following the gas disaster at Bhopal to be heard in the United States or India.

Federal Court Judge John Keenan Thursday gave Union Carbide until June 12 to decide after he spent months trying to get the company, the Indian government and lawyers for the victims to reach an out-of-court decision.

The leak of methyl isocyanate from Union Carbide's subsidiary in the central Indian city in December 1984 killed 2,000 people and injured about 250,000. It was the world's worst industrial accident.

Lawyers close to the case said Union Carbide did not immediately agree to Keenan's ruling because of conditions he set, including one that evidence collected in the U.S. on allegedly faulty design of the Bhopal plant could be used in India.

Mass Soviet rock concert for Chernobyl victims

MOSCOW (Reuters). - The Soviet Union's top rock stars staged an unprecedented concert in a Moscow stadium Friday night to raise money for the victims of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster.

In a show that organizers compared to last year's Live Aid international concert for African famine relief, pop singer Alla Pugachova and others belted out a mixture of heavy metal, ballads and punk.

But the 25,000 fans were more subdued than a Western one would be and, at least at the start, there were no wild scenes. Presenting the type of concert never held before in the Soviet Union, Pugachova reminded the audience that it was called "Account No. 9045" - the Chernobyl relief account - and appealed for generous donations.

OAU agrees to African peacekeeping force

HARARE, Zimbabwe (AP). - African defence ministers have agreed to set up a peacekeeping force to intervene in military conflicts on the continent at the request of either side, said delegates to a meeting here.

Delegates, representing member states of the Organization of African Unity, disclosed that the ministers agreed to accept a recommendation to scrap a 20-year dream of a permanent pan-African army in favour of an ad hoc force. Delegates could provide few details on the composition of such a force, when it might be formed or how it would be financed on a continent with many of its nations in severe economic trouble.

U.S. returns Nazi combat art to W. Germany

INGOLSTADT, West Germany (AP). - More than 6,000 combat paintings and drawings commissioned by Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime are being returned to West Germany after 40 years by the U.S.

The U.S. government confiscated the art works at the end of World War II. Now, the oil paintings, drawings and watercolours are being sent to the Bavarian Army Museum in Ingolstadt under an agreement signed between Washington and Bonn officials in January.

The paintings and drawings show heroic German soldiers fighting, rescuing their colleagues and cleaning up after air raids.

Soviets: 'We can also spurn Salt'

MOSCOW. - The Soviet Union said yesterday it will not feel bound by the strategic arms controls it had agreed to in the 1970s if the U.S. violates major provisions of the accords.

A government statement published by the official news agency Tass strongly condemned President Ronald Reagan's "exceptionally dangerous" announcement this week about the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (Salt II).

Reagan announced last Tuesday that the U.S. would scrap two nuclear-armed submarines to keep within the terms of the Salt II accord, signed by U.S. and Soviet leaders in 1979 but never ratified by the U.S. Senate.

Reagan added, however, that the U.S. intends to exceed the pact's limits later this year unless the Soviets reversed arms programmes that he claims violate Salt II.

The Kremlin responded in kind in

yesterday's statement, the first official Soviet reaction to Reagan's announcement.

The statement reiterated the Soviet view that another summit between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev "requires the readiness of the American side to achieve concrete results on at least one or two questions in the sphere of security, and also the existence of a suitable political atmosphere."

"It is clear that the challenging move made by the U.S. in no way attests to either one or two other, the statement said.

In Halifax, Nova Scotia, NATO foreign ministers on Friday took up Gorbachev's challenge for disarmament in Europe, setting up a new body to propose ambitious new steps in conventional arms control.

In a special statement at the end of a two-day meeting, the 16 NATO foreign ministers said a senior working group would build on current

Western proposals for troop cuts in Central Europe and confidence-building measures to reduce the risk of war.

The document said NATO would take account of Gorbachev's April 18 statement spelling out Soviet readiness for reductions in non-nuclear forces. The working group would report in October, before an expected major East-West foreign ministers' conference in Vienna in November, officials said.

Conference source said Canada and many allies from Europe had urged Secretary of State George Shultz to preserve Salt-II as one of the few existing arms control agreements in spite of Moscow's record of non-compliance.

But at a closing news conference Shultz gave little sign that he had been swayed by the views of the allies during the semi-annual meeting of the North Atlantic Council, NATO's highest body. (AP, Reuters)

Kohl is cleared of lying about party donations

BONN (Reuters). - Chancellor Helmut Kohl was cleared Friday in the second of two separate legal investigations into allegations that he lied to parliamentary enquiries into illicit political party donations.

The Bonn state prosecutors office said in a statement that a three-month investigation had yielded no

evidence to support the allegations.

The decision came 10 days after state prosecutors in Koblenz cleared Kohl of similar perjury allegations.

The investigations were the first to be conducted against an incumbent chancellor and had contributed to a slump in Kohl's popularity in state elections to be held in two weeks' time in Lower Saxony and national elections next January.

They were based on allegations lodged against the Christian Democratic (CDU) chancellor by lawyer Otto Schily, a prominent member of the radical Greens Party.

The Bonn investigation began in March and had centred on testimony to a Bonn parliamentary committee in November, 1984 in which he denied receiving two cash payments totalling 55,000 marks (\$24,000) from the giant Flick industrial concern. Schily, a committee member,

alleged Kohl had wilfully misled the enquiry.

The Bonn prosecutor's office, in announcing its decision, said there was some indication that Kohl had received the two disputed donations from the Flick concern. But it said there was no tangible evidence that at the time of his testimony the chancellor "could still remember these two payments and had knowingly denied them."

The Koblenz probe, begun in February, focused on testimony by Kohl last July to a panel of the Rheinland-Palatinate state parliament probing party funding methods in the 1970s.

Kohl, who was state premier from 1969 to 1976, told the panel he was not aware that a tax-exempt charity foundation had been used to launder donations for the CDU.

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SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT No. 9

conductor
CHO-LIANG LIN
 violin
 Programme of works by:
 Beethoven and Tchaikovsky
 TEL AVIV,
 Mann Auditorium, 8:30 p.m.
 Series 4: Tuesday, 6.8.86
 Series 5: Monday, 2.6.86

SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT No. 9

KLAUS TENNSTEDT
 conductor
GIDON KREMER
 violin
 Programme:
 Beethoven: "Coriolan" Overture
 Schostak: Violin Concerto No. 4
 Brahms: Symphony No. 1
 TEL AVIV,
 Mann Auditorium, 8:30 p.m.
 Series 6: Tuesday, 3.6.86
 Series 7: Thursday, 5.6.86
 Series 8: Saturday, 7.6.86
 (9:30 p.m.)

SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT No. 9

KLAUS TENNSTEDT
 conductor
CHO-LIANG LIN
 violin
 Programme as for Tel Aviv
 Series 1-5

RECITAL

(Last of "Series of Recitals")
GIDON KREMER
 violin
ANDRAS SCHIFF
 piano
 Programme of works by:
 Schubert, Schumann and Beethoven
 TEL AVIV,
 Mann Auditorium, 8:30 p.m.
 Wednesday, 4.6.86, 8:30 p.m.

SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT No. 8

KLAUS TENNSTEDT
 conductor
GIDON KREMER
 violin
 Programme as for Tel Aviv
 Series 6-8

PHILOCLASSICA CONCERT No. 5

STANLEY SPERBER
 conductor
THE NATIONAL CHOIR "RINAT"
 conductor and violinist
 Programme:
 Schubert: Rondo and Polonaise for Violin and Orchestra
 Beethoven: "Magnificat"
 Stravinsky: "Monumentum pro Gesualdo"
 Brahms: "Nanie," op. 82
 TEL AVIV,
 Mann Auditorium, 8:30 p.m.
 Wednesday, 11.6.86

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 Stage Director: Charles Hamilton
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Chernobyl is major media event after initial silence

MOSCOW (Reuters). - The Chernobyl nuclear disaster has produced a minor earthquake in the Soviet Union's rigidly-controlled state media.

A long silence followed the explosion of one of the power station's reactors April 26, leading some Western observers to compose obituaries for Kremlin chief Mikhail Gorbachev's drive for greater openness. But then the Soviet media began bouncing back with new ideas.

Night after night tens of millions of television viewers have watched the new-style reporting from the Ukraine of the country's latest media star, correspondent Alexander Krutov.

Newspapers have published tales of heroism and cowardice, descriptions of the battle to entomb the rogue reactor, detailed reports of checks against radiation and advice on precautionary measures. Two people were reportedly killed immediately in the Chernobyl explosion and 17 more are said to have died later from radiation.

The latest media innovation was publication of a strongly critical letter by West Germany's ambassador in the government daily *Izvestia*. For the first time Soviet readers saw the accident described as a "catastrophe" and a foreigner advising their newspaper to devote more attention to dealing with the Soviet Union's problems and less to criticizing other countries.

Gorbachev's drive for more open treatment of the country's failings does not extend to outsiders. Foreign criticisms of Soviet authorities or the communist system are virtually never published here.

The Kremlin has given no hint as to why it abandoned its traditional policy of giving minimal information about domestic disasters. However, the massive news coverage in the West must have leaked through to the local population, convincing Moscow to permit local coverage as the best way to halt rumours and calm people's fears, diplomats here say.

Unlike Western media, Soviet news organizations conform with the government's current policy position. Their role is to help the Kremlin create the true communist society.

Two weeks ago, however, *Pravda* acknowledged the weaknesses of this one-sided approach in an unprecedented criticism of the television

news. Commentator Dmitry Lyubosvetov said people had been writing in to *Pravda* to complain that reports on the West were monotonous and inadequate.

"They show mainly meetings, demonstrations and protests. They rarely tell about the achievements of science and technology, about what effect these have on the ordinary worker in the conditions of capitalism," he said.

Lyubosvetov also hinted at what for many Soviet people is a credibility gap between the economic hardship and political oppression described by the reporters and the apparent affluence and freedom to protest shown by the cameras.

The article also complained that much of television news' domestic reporting was superficial or self-congratulatory. Interviews were apparently rehearsed, Lyubosvetov said.

For 10 days after the accident, the Soviet media published no more than the sparse government statements, apart from attacks on the Western reaction.

Then, led by *Pravda*, the media went into full swing. Correspondents interviewed firemen, evacuated power station workers, health officers, doctors, military commanders, ministers, scientists, helicopter pilots.

The reports have concentrated on the human side. And the undoubted star of this approach has been correspondent Krutov, seen night after night penetrating closer and closer to the crippled reactor as radiation levels fell.

His lengthy, informal interviews with truck drivers, helicopter pilots or the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences have set a new tone in Soviet television reporting.

The information is, however, selective. The Soviet people have not been told that radiation from Chernobyl spread across Europe and have been given only a vague hint of the safety measures introduced by alarmed governments to the West.

Gorbachev has made much of the virtues of open criticism and frank reporting of failures, crimes and disasters since taking office in March 1985.

However, the media silence on Chernobyl led some observers to conclude that his campaign had flopped. Now, Western diplomats say, the flood of innovative reporting was, perhaps, an attempt to make up for the initial failure.

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A high-contrast, black and white photograph of a man in a striped, ruffled costume standing next to a large, round, light-colored drum. He is holding a mallet and appears to be playing or about to play the drum. The background is dark and indistinct.

The Agada Hadasha troupe performs outside the Jerusalem Theatre last week as part of the Israel Festival. (Roni Na'aman)

DIERS LIFTS

DIERS LIFTS

First Programme

- 6.03 Programmes for Olim
- 7.30 Favourites Old Songs
- 8.05 Compass – with Barry Mendel
- 9.05 Hebrew songs
- 9.30 Encounter – live family magazine
- 10.30 Programme in Easy Hebrew
- 11.10 School Broadcasts
- 11.30 Education for all
- 12.05 Oriental songs

GIVE SOLDIERS LIFTS

IT IS UNUSUAL when the ultra-Orthodox and the feminists campaign for a similar cause, but the recent appearance on giant billboards of an advertisement showing a bathing suit-clad woman in a dog-like posture prompted angry cries from both camps.

The Oberson swimwear advertisement and the response it drew have raised speculation about the channels through which citizens can express their objections to forms of advertising they find offensive. They also bring to the forefront the question whether guidelines controlling advertising material should be instituted — and if so, what body should enforce them.

While the reactions of many women and the ultra-Orthodox camp to the bathing suit advertisement were similar, the beliefs on which their objections are based differ widely. The *haredim* hold that the advertisement is immoral, exposing parts of the woman's body which should be kept covered. The women who find the poster objectionable think the pose is humiliating and invites violence against women, through the suggestion that the model enjoys the act of submission.

The widespread cases, particularly in Jerusalem, of burning down bus stops which display such advertisements or daubing the ads with paint, appear to prove that illegitimate forms of protest and pressure achieve their goal.

In Bnei Brak the Oberson advertisement was removed after protests. In Kiron, two ultra-Orthodox men were arrested on suspicion of painting one such poster black two weeks ago.

The Oberson ad has not been seen in Jerusalem, where there is a "gentlemen's agreement" with the Poster Media advertising company (which handles the bus stop ads in the city) not to harm the feelings of the ultra-Orthodox population, according to an aide to Mayor Teddy Kollek.

IS IT a question of respecting the feelings of this population or bowing to coercion? Alice Shalvi, chairwoman of the Women's Lobby, believes that the fact advertisers are

exercising self-censorship in Jerusalem shows the actions of the arsonists and vandals have been successful.

Zvi Rolievitz, assistant to the director of the Advertising Association, told *The Jerusalem Post* that he received a threat from an ultra-Orthodox group calling itself the "Committee Against Obscenity." The group's representative said that further acts of vandalism would be committed unless the advertisers refrained from displaying the more explicit posters.

While the wave of bus stop torchings used to be restricted to Jerusalem, it now appears to be spreading to other areas of the country. Two bus stops were burned down in Tel Aviv last week. Each bus stop costs several thousand dollars.

The arsonists' line of action, while illegal, clearly hits the advertisers where it hurts — in the pocket.

As a result, at least one feminist movement is considering resorting to vandalism. "We may resort to methods like painting over the ads, if we come to the conclusion that it is the most effective means of protest," several activists told *The Post*.

Shalvi is investigating the possibility of suing Oberson for personal damages, arguing that the advertisement is slanderous. In addition to the fact that the advertisement is objectionable, "as it presents us in a degrading fashion," Shalvi believes a strong reason for pressing charges would be "to show that legitimate, legal methods work."

In other words, if the Women's Lobby or any other movement or individual take this line of action, more than just the power and prestige of the feminist movement will be at stake.

The case would put to the test the effectiveness of democratic channels of public protest.

SOME BELIEVE that if the advertisers are not prepared to exercise self-restraint, there should be some form of statutory control over what the public is shown, in order to prohibit material that is defamatory to any religion, race or sex.

Street insults

The general public has no effective form of protest against harmful or debasing advertisements. Thus there is a danger that increasing numbers of individuals will turn to vandalism when they find an advertisement offensive. Tsipi Kuper reports.



The problem is that this borders dangerously on censorship. Shalvi says she is not in favour of such legislation and would only support it as "a last resort, if there is no willingness on the part of advertisers to impose an ethical code as a form of self-censorship."

Nitza Shapira-Libai, the prime minister's adviser on the status of women, also notes that the issue is fraught with problems. It is difficult, as an advocate of civil rights, to come forward and propose a form of censorship, the antithesis of civil liberty, she points out.

There is a clause in Israel law prohibiting the publishing of obscenity (*Isur pishmei to'ava*). Section 214 of the 1977 law states that anybody "selling, possessing, printing... or distributing obscene material" is liable to three years' imprisonment. Anybody displaying obscene material in public places, running a business for the purpose of publishing such material, or advertising where obscene material can be obtained is also an offender. But it does not specify what constitutes obscene material.

In modern society, "There is a

shifting sense of what constitutes the permissible," Shalvi said. Since our values are in a constant state of flux, what we may believe to be obscene today may be considered acceptable in the future, and what appears to be obscene by one social group may be considered normal by another.

In addition, in the case of advertisements portraying women, "It is hard to take into account our shifting sense of self," Shalvi adds. She recalls that she recently saw the portrayal of a woman working at a computer in an advertisement for a women's magazine on a billboard in the U.S. This epitomizes the changing concept of women's roles, she believes. A while ago, it would probably have been a woman next to a stove.

It is dangerous to define in the framework of a law what is permissible. "The only possibility is a broad definition prohibiting advertisements that are defamatory to any group or sector," she believes. It is so easy to overstep the boundaries, Shalvi notes. "After all who would exercise the censorship? Interior Minister Rabbi Yitzhak Peretz?"

THERE HAVE been a number of efforts in the U.S. in recent years to legislate against pornography from a feminist point of view, rather than from a moral perspective.

According to Hebrew University law student Miriam Benson, who has been carrying out a comparative study between the U.S. and Israeli laws on this issue, the most successful attempt was in Indianapolis, Indiana. A legislative bill drafted by two women — lawyer Catherine Mackenon and feminist writer Andrea Dworkin — was incorporated into the city's bylaws, but then struck out when a group of booksellers challenged it on constitutional grounds one hour after it became law last August.

The city appealed against the decision, and the issue reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which in February of this year upheld the decision to strike the bill from the city's bylaws.

The bill defined pornography in terms of its harm to women, a defini-

tion which is not liable to be affected by transient values. The definition includes "sexually explicit subordination of women which includes one or more of the following clauses: • women presented as sexual objects who enjoy pain or humiliation; • who experience sexual pleasure in being raped; • who are tied up, cut up, mutilated, bruised, physically hurt, dismembered...; • who are penetrated by objects or animals; • in scenarios of degradation, injury, abasement, torture, presented as filthy or inferior, bleeding or hurt in a context that makes it sexual; • as sexual objects for domination, violation, exploitation... or through a posture or position of servility, submission or display."

A number of the Israeli advertisements which generated a public outcry because they were offensive to women could perhaps fit in to a number of clauses in Mackenon and Dworkin's definition of pornography.

Benson believes that despite the need to restrict such advertisements on the grounds that they are harmful to women, rather than on moral grounds, "freedom of speech must be emphasized in this country in particular in the absence of a constitution."

No attempts to legislate a pornography law have been made in Israel, according to Shapira-Libai. She holds that action should be taken on a social level, in order to raise consciousness, rather than the legislative level, because of the freedom of speech issue that arises.

Benson, on the other hand, believes that an attempt should be made to incorporate a definition like Mackenon's and Dworkin's into Israeli law, because of the consciousness-raising value of such an effort — even if it is unsuccessful, as in the Indianapolis experience. "The legislative attempt in that city generated numerous articles and public response," and this in itself serves an important function, she said.

AN ATTEMPT to press charges

against an advertiser under Section 214 of the law is problematic. When the *Hadashot* daily last year ran a satirical comic strip entitled, "How to Rape a Hitch-hiker," Shapira-Libai wrote to Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir, asking whether there were grounds to prosecute. "He told me it was a borderline case," she said.

The only legal channel left for the citizen is therefore to press charges against the advertisers on a personal damages claim. The fear of losing the case is a strong deterrent, however, since it would be taken as a precedent.

The Advertising Association does not have its own guidelines and does not impose any restrictions on the advertisers. "The municipalities could enforce restrictions more effectively than the Advertising Association, an official of the association told *The Post*.

In the absence of self-censorship and restraint on the part of the advertisers themselves, the question of good taste in advertising is left to those who publish the ads — the printed and electronic media — and the municipalities which control what appears on their billboards.

The citizen is left without any effective form of protest against harmful or debasing advertisements. Letters of protest to newspapers or to the advertiser generally have little effect.

The chairwoman of Emunah Israel, Sarah Stern-Katan, told *The Post* that she wrote to Interior Minister Peretz to protest against the Oberson advertisement, sending a copy of the letter to Gideon Oberson. She received no reply. She said she received dozens of phonecalls and letters from women incensed at the advertisement, "not only on religious, but also aesthetic grounds."

In the absence of effective, legal channels through which the citizen can effectively express his or her opposition to forms of advertising, there is a danger that an increasing number of individuals and movements will turn to illegitimate forms of protest — such as vandalism — delivering one more blow to the country's democratic values.

Ghetto of newsprint

Lea Levavi

"If they offered it to me I wouldn't want it. Education is what interests me," asserted Lode.

Dr. Esther Barzel, director of documentary programming for the radio, added that most of the suggestions submitted to her by women programme editors concern educational and social areas because those are the subjects which interest them.

Few women work as radio reporters, said Barzel, because the demand for 24-hour-a-day availability is difficult if they have children.

"When I edited programmes, I used to work in the studio two nights a week — something not every woman is willing to do. It apparently helped me move up, but it required having a husband who supported my career, who was willing to baby-sit and cook."

Summarizing this part of the day's discussions, Goren said there is a theory in communications that the media is a case of those with power (i.e. men) talking to those without it (women).

"I don't think the (symposium's) speakers intended it that way, but some of them have proved the theory to my satisfaction," she said.

During the break which followed, several members of the audience expressed regret that women at the "bottom" of the media heap were not invited to participate in the panel. Those who have already "arrived" can afford to say that any person who wants to make it can do so, argued one woman. But what about the free-lancer who can't get a tenured position at a newspaper, while her male colleagues easily get such work?

The second half of the study day was devoted to how women are portrayed in the media. Mira Ariel, a linguist at Tel Aviv University, presented results of research that showed that even when men and women portrayed in the news are colleagues in the same profession, the woman is more likely to be described in terms of her marital status and number of children — or as pretty or not pretty — while the man is introduced in purely professional terms.

Ariel said that in a headline about the death toll in a disaster, for example, the victims were described as

"two pilots, two women, an engineer and a technician — although the women were also engineers or technicians."

"In an article about elderly couples," Ariel continued, "the wife is given suggestions on how to care for her husband, but the husband is not given similar advice on how to help his wife — who probably is also no youngster."

These and other examples were designed to show that the media portrays what she called "a man's world," in which women are less important, something secondary — the "other" or "second" sex.

Henda Weiss, of the Institute for Communications and Family at Haifa University, presented the view that pornography that is offensive particularly to women is finding its way, in a slightly more sophisticated form, into mass circulation newspapers and magazines.

Among the slides she showed to prove this point was an ad for shoes in which two women were pictured with one's right shoe tied to the left of the other, with naked buttocks shown prominently.

"The idea of women being tied is common in pornography and represents violence against the woman who is degraded and helpless," said Weiss. "Showing women as no more than sexual parts of the body, in this case, legs and buttocks, is also included in the definition of pornography. You'll notice you don't see their faces."

She also showed an ad for jeans. Used in a weekly magazine for teenagers, showing a woman in tight-fitting jeans with the caption "I love when they touch me," and with other implications hinting that she is "readily available to any and all male comers." Another ad hinted at oral sex.

"Look who's giving her the candy and observe the look on her face," Weiss said.

She explained that, according to communications theory, people develop their ideas of what is proper behaviour from what they see and read in the mass media. Research has shown that violence in pornography increases male fantasies about raping women, as well as their imperviousness to what the woman rape victim experiences.

If violent pornography is carried over to the mass media, Weiss claimed, society's norms about

women and about how to behave toward them could be affected. She suggested that lawmakers and government take this under consideration.

In the final minutes of the study day, two men had their say: Zvi Eldad, editor of *La'isha* and Haim Yavin, director of Israel Television. Eldad almost walked off the platform in a huff when a woman in the audience accused him of using pornographic headlines and cover photos in every issue. There were also derisive comments when he said that his magazine tries to bring about change "by the back door," by presenting success stories of women who succeed at professions considered as being the province of men.

"We don't have an ideology of telling the woman she should have her husband take out the garbage or do the dishes. We tackle the problem indirectly."

Eldad added that the media can only mirror what is happening in society. "Asking us to change attitudes is too big a job for us, because who will decide which attitudes to change and in which direction?"

Yavin said that though he admits the system is not as open-minded as it could be, women themselves don't take the initiative.

"The complaint is that the chief anchorperson on news programmes is always a man and that the woman announcer is always in second place. The reason is that the chief slot requires high-level journalistic experience which women don't have because they don't go after those jobs. If women don't apply for the political reporter jobs, they shouldn't come to us later with complaints."

Dr. Nitza Shapira-Libai, adviser to the prime minister on the status of women, argued that the media do not give enough attention to the issue of women's status in society.

"Journalists and editors always ask me if I don't think there are more important subjects. If the social and media order of priorities don't change, defence and economics will always be more important."

She said some newspaper people have told her that competition to sell papers requires them to give the public what it wants.

"Why do they assume there's an audience for sport but not for information about women's issues? In fact, I know many women who buy a different paper each day depending on when they can expect to find information on the status of women."

Libai's office, together with the Government Press Office, were the sponsors of the study day.

FOR EVERY one of the 600 children now receiving help from Nitzan — the organization which serves children with learning disabilities — there are two more children on the waiting list because the organization does not have enough money to help them.

Nitzan will hold its annual fund-raising campaign on June 3 and hopes the public will respond generously to the growing need for its services.

The need for Nitzan's services is growing for several reasons, said Rivka Kidron, a Ministry of Education employee who works at Nitzan's central headquarters. First, thanks to advances in medicine, children who would have died in the past are now living. These people often have a neurological disorder known as minimal brain dysfunction (MBD).

Another reason is increased awareness: a generation ago, children with learning problems would have been labelled retarded, emotionally disturbed or lazy instead of being referred for diagnosis and treatment. Children who would have previously limped along on the fringes of a regular class are now being treated as needing special services.

The children who need Nitzan's help sometimes have difficulty concentrating and are often restless. Some have difficulties reading, writing or doing simple arithmetic, some have poor hand-eye coordination or other problems moving their body even though they have no physical handicap. Though the cause of the problem is sometimes organic brain damage that can be pinpointed, the problem's origin is often unknown.

THERE IS something illusive about these disabilities. "One mother told me that, when her child was in kindergarten, she sensed something

Write and wrong

Nitzan, the organization for children with learning disabilities, is fund-raising this week.

was wrong but was told she was an overanxious mother," Kidron said. When her child was in first grade and she spoke to the teacher about the child's inability to grasp reading, the teacher told her not to worry; some children just take a little longer.

Those children who are lucky enough to have their problem diagnosed early and to get help can often make great progress. Some youngsters finish academic high schools, get full matriculation certificates, and then find jobs. A few have gone on to higher education.

"These children are not hopeless cases by any means," Kidron said. "The first step is to find out exactly what the child's specific problem is and what teaching methods will work best in the individual case. Then that teaching has to be provided."

Computers are also proving very useful to help children develop their memory or deal with writing difficulties, and Nitzan has developed some after-school computer clubs for this purpose. On the other hand, some of our children have been very frustrated and discouraged when they

were included in school programmes to teach arithmetic with the aid of computers; those programmes are not adapted to these children's specific needs and problems."

There are some children, however, who grow up with learning disabilities and are unable to cope as adults. Because of the frustrations they faced as children in school, or because they may have elsewhere got the message that they are not as good as everyone else, they have personality problems in adult life. It is difficult for them to hold jobs, make friends, or cope with the demands of daily life.

Nitzan would like to help these young adults by establishing a vocational rehabilitation centre, community residences, social clubs and other services.

"Finding the right occupation for each individual and helping him or her get the training for that occupation is the first step, but not the whole story," Kidron said. "The difficulties often arise on the job because the individual with a learning disability finds it difficult to adjust to the new situation and may want to quit at the first sign of possible failure."

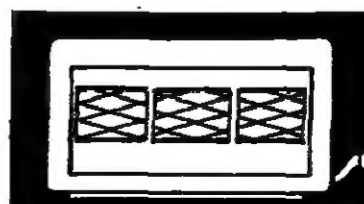
The difficulty here, as in providing services to the children, is lack of money. "The Ministry of Education does all it can, but the budget is limited," Kidron said. "Nitzan wants to fill the gaps but, unfortunately, good ideas and dedication are not enough to fill them; you also need money. I hope that when people know more about the need — and become aware that there are things which can be done to help these children — they will support Nitzan's work."

LEA LEVAVI

Today is edited by Joanna Yehiel.

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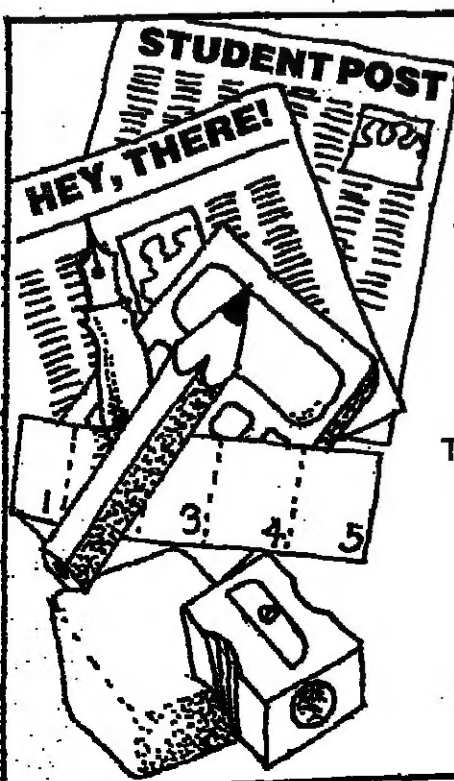
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Italy pay the price of caution

By ROBERT PHILIP
MEXICO CITY (Reuters). — Italy scorned the sparkling soccer which led to their ultimate triumph in Spain four years ago when they began their 1986 World Cup campaign with a scrappy 1-1 draw against Bulgaria last night.

The champagne football that had been hoped for never materialized and the 13th finals were launched in the Aztec Stadium with something more reminiscent of stale beer.

Indeed the only spectators happy with the outcome of this game will be the other two group A nations, 1978 winners Argentina and South Korea.

Italy fielded the five survivors from their victorious side of four years ago and striker Sandro Altobelli, who claimed the third goal in the 3-1 win against West Germany in the 1982 final, was first to get off the mark in 1986 when he opened the



THE FIRST: Alessandro Altobelli hammers home the first goal of the 1986 World Cup finals. But it wasn't enough. Bulgaria held the champions to a 1-1 draw.

scoring after 43 minutes. But the Bulgarians, who had all but disappeared after Altobelli's opener, scored a stunning equalizer six minutes from full time.

Nasko Sirakov rose brilliantly above the Italian defence to steer a perfectly directed header past goalkeeper Giovanni Galli.

The Bulgarians spent a precious minute in the customary coveting and falling over one another while the Italians mourned their cynical show-fare and rued several missed easy chances to increase their lead.

Altobelli's performance was the one bright spot in an otherwise disappointing game and his instinct in front of goal suggests Italy may yet bounce back from this setback as they did four years ago.

Italy went in front when, following a foul on Bruno Conti, Di Gennaro swung over an outswinging free kick from the right and Altobelli

squeezed between two defenders to beat Bulgarian goalkeeper Borislav Mikhailov with a nicely struck side-footed volley.

With Paolo Rossi, the hero of Spain, sitting forlornly among the 100,000 plus spectators, Altobelli turned in a devastating display aided by newcomer Giuseppe Galdieri.

Galdieri has looked sharp ever since he arrived in Mexico and he was only centimetres away from giving Italy an 11th-minute lead with a stinging right foot shot which flew narrowly over the crossbar.

Altobelli, who could have had a hat-trick, suffered a similar fate midway through the first half when his rising shot on the run beat Mikhailov only to skim the woodwork.

Although Bulgaria put together some intricate passing moves they seldom troubled the Italian defence and the World Cup holders may live to regret the moment of slackness

THIS WEEK'S SCHEDULE

SUNDAY: 9 p.m. — Brazil v. Spain (D), ITV, Jordan.
1 a.m. — France v. Canada (C).
MONDAY: 9 p.m. — Argentina v. South Korea (A), USSR v. Hungary (C).
1 a.m. — Poland v. Mexico (F), Jordan.
TUESDAY: 9 p.m. — Mexico v. Belgium (B); Algeria v. Northern Ireland (D), BBC.
1 a.m. — England v. Portugal (F), ITV, Jordan, BBC.
WEDNESDAY: 9 p.m. — Paraguay v. Iraq (B); Jordan v. West Germany v. Uruguay (B), ITV (11-45).
1 a.m. — Scotland v. Denmark (E), ITV, BBC.
THURSDAY: 9 p.m. — Italy v. Argentina (A), ITV, Jordan; France v. USSR (C).
1 a.m. — Bulgaria v. South Korea (A).
FRIDAY: 9 p.m. — Canada v. Hungary (C); Brazil v. Algeria (D), Jordan.
1 a.m. — England v. Morocco (F), Jordan, BBC.
SATURDAY: 9 p.m. — Mexico v. Paraguay (B); Spain v. Northern Ireland (D), BBC.
1 a.m. — Poland v. Portugal (F), Jordan.
1 a.m. — Poland v. Portugal (F), Jordan.
Group are in parentheses, broadcasts in italics.

which allowed Sirakov to rise unchallenged in the 84th minute and head home Getov's cross from the right.

Most of the action took place at the other end where Altobelli, whose every touch spread panic throughout the usually formidable Bulgarian back four, carved out a series of chances for his team-mates.

After 60 minutes he released Sirakov with a deft flick and Mikhailov had to produce the save of the match to deny the Italian captain.

Minutes later, Altobelli set up another opening with an unselfish header across goal, but fullback Antonio Carbajal, standing almost directly under the crossbar, contrived to head the ball over.

It was an untidy opening to the tournament with Swedish referee Eric Fredriksson cautioning three players. But the fact that the underdogs, however undeserved, came back to challenge the champions promises much better fare during the month ahead.

Any team adopting a cynical close-minded approach to attacking football may realize just how high a price they may have to pay in the end.

Because it spelled out the perils of caution and conservatism, the dull opener could point the way to much brighter things in the 30-day football fiesta now under way.

The Bird struts his stuff

BOSTON (Reuters). — All-around superstar Larry Bird, the most valuable player in the NBA, led the Boston Celtics to a 117-95 win over the Houston Rockets Thursday for a 2-0 lead in the championship finals.

Bird fired in 31 points, shared eight rebounds, roamed the court for four steals and passed for seven assists — all team highs for the game.

The Celtics, seeking their league leading 16th NBA championship, also had strong contributions from forward Kevin McHale, who had 25 points, and guard Dennis Johnson with 18.

But the rockets, seeking their first NBA title, looked confused by the fourth quarter, missing open shots and throwing the ball away.

Leading the Rockets were their "two towers," Nigerian superstar Akeem Olatunji who scored 21 points and 2.24 metre Ralph Sampson who had 18.

Houston Coach Bill Fitch, who was Celtics coach when Boston beat the Rockets in 1981, said: "We were humiliated. It's embarrassing to get to the finals and play like this. But we haven't played a team as good as Boston getting here."

Celtics Coach K.C. Jones described Bird's game as awesome. "The man is what every coach would love to see out there. He does just what he wants to do. He makes the whole team play better," he said.

Ian Botham 'absolutely gutted'

LONDON (Reuters). — English cricket superstar Ian Botham said a two-month playing ban imposed on him for smoking cannabis was "like the end of the world."

"I'm absolutely gutted. It's like the end of the world. I can't bear to think about sitting it out for two months," he said.

Botham was banned by England's Test and County Cricket Board Thursday from playing for England until July 31 after admitting that he had smoked cannabis in the past.

The ban means he will miss the current three-match test series against India, as well as two one-day international games against New Zealand and the first full test against them.

"Cricket has given me so much — how am I going to live without it?" he said.

Agonizing wait in vain

Israel's champion bowler Cecil Bransky had an agonizing wait yesterday evening to see if he would make it through to the semi-finals of the British Masters at Wexham.

But he waited in vain, as Australian Rob Farrelle defeated Canadian Dan Milligan 21-11 and advanced to meet New Zealander Ian Dickson.

Bransky won his opening two games in the preliminary section, but having lost the third yesterday evening, his chances of advancing to the final four depended on Farrelle's beating Milligan by less than six shots.

In the other semi-final, defending champion David Bryant of England plays countryman David Cuddeh.

Third racing death in less than month

SCHOTTEN, West Germany (Reuters). — Swiss Formula One racing driver Marc Surer was badly injured and his co-driver killed when their car crashed head-on into a tree during a rally in West Germany yesterday and exploded in a ball of fire, bringing to three the number of racing deaths in less than a month.

Intertoto opener

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. — In the first of the summer Intertoto tournament soccer matches, Maccabi Haifa and Hapoel Tel Aviv yesterday drew 2-2 in Haifa after standing 1-1 at half time.

The fixture was a repeat of the crucial league championship deciding match of last Saturday, but the sting of that encounter was somewhat yesterday as title was at stake. Both clubs fielded mostly reserve and youth team players.

Tamir Liberman and Ahmed Mousa scored for Hapoel, and Tzadok Malka and Ofer Mizrahi netted for Haifa.

Blue Jays' Dave Stieb a winner at last

NEW YORK (AP). — Dave Stieb threw a four-hitter for his first victory in 11 starts this year, pacing the Toronto Blue Jays to a 6-0 victory over the Chicago White Sox Friday night.

Stieb, the 28-year-old right-hander who led the American League in earned-run average last season, entered the game with a 0-6 record and

NATIONAL LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	31	11	.738	—
Montreal	26	16	.617	5 1/2
Philadelphia	26	16	.617	5 1/2
Chicago	19	23	.452	12 1/2
Pittsburgh	19	23	.452	12 1/2
St. Louis	16	27	.372	15 1/2

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Houston	26	16	.617	—
Atlanta	24	18	.571	2 1/2
San Diego	24	18	.571	2 1/2
San Francisco	21	21	.500	5 1/2
Los Angeles	18	24	.430	8 1/2
Cincinnati	15	27	.357	11 1/2

AMERICAN LEAGUE EAST

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	30	17	.636	—
New York	28	19	.596	2 1/2
Baltimore	28	19	.596	2 1/2
Milwaukee	25	22	.529	5 1/2
Detroit	23	24	.489	7 1/2
Cleveland	22	24	.479	8 1/2
Toronto	22	24	.479	8 1/2

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Texas	27	22	.552	—
Kansas City	23	24	.489	4 1/2
California	22	25	.468	5 1/2
Seattle	22	25	.468	5 1/2
Minnesota	19	28	.404	8 1/2
Chicago	18	27	.400	9 1/2
Los Angeles	17	31	.354	13 1/2

An end to Brazilian artistry?

GUADALAJARA (Reuters). — Brazilian coach Tele Santana, faced with deep-rooted problems within his squad, is poised to swap the artistic soccer of the 1982 finals for a more pragmatic approach aimed solely at winning the World Cup.

"In 1982, people said we enchanted the world, yet we were received back home as failures. This time, in order to win, we may even consider running away from Brazil's traditional style," Santana said.

In Spain, Brazil fielded probably the most gifted midfield in World Cup history, plus two full backs, Junior and Leandro, who loved to attack.

But the determination to go forward at every opportunity proved the team's undoing against Italy in the second round as the defence was left wide open for Paolo Rossi to score a famous hat-trick.

Santana, recalled to lead the team earlier this year, is a stubborn man, but events have forced him to re-examine his soccer philosophy.

Four years ago, Santana played four colourful ball-players in midfield — Zico, Socrates, Falcao and Cerezo.

As today's opening game against Spain has drawn nearer, Santana has leaned towards a less talented but perhaps more effective combination. Cerezo, left out of the final 22 last

week, will be replaced by Elzo, a utility player more used to marking than creating.

Junior has been moved into midfield where he can either instigate attacks or use his defensive skills.

"Sometimes you are forced to play ugly but the pleasure of soccer is to play beautifully," Socrates said.

"Unfortunately at the moment we don't have a team to play beautifully — but we have a team to win."

Some players believe a more defensive team could help to overcome some of the problems Brazil faced in Spain.

"What we need is a bandit. We must play dirty when it is necessary," Zico said. "While Gentle (of Italy) was kicking me and Maradona up in the air, we had no one to do the same to Rossi."

Like Socrates, Junior is optimistic about the new-look team. "People say we're not so good these past few days. Yet I hope we follow the example of Italy in 1982. They started in disaster and yet won."

But Santana's apparent indecision about the team has created tension within the Brazilian camp. Many Brazilian observers give the example of Galvao as a sign that the manager has lost his way in the past four years. Galvao is a central defender and until last week had never been considered as a full back at international level.

Israel set sights on Belgium

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — Shlomo Zoref has been named by the Israel Tennis Association as Israel's Davis Cup coach for the 1986 season, starting with a second-round European Zone "B" tie against Belgium at Ramat Hasharon from June 12 to 14. The squad for the match with Belgium is Shlomo Glickstein, Shahar Perlis, Amos Mansdorf, Gilad Bloom, Amit Naor and newcomer Raviv Weidenfeld, with Yosef Stabholz continuing as non-playing captain and Pini Shimon as trainer.

Zoref, 31, succeeds Australian-born Ron Steele, 46, who coached Israel's Davis Cup team several times in the early 1970s and has been in charge without a break for eight years. However, for the past 12 months, Steele has been fully occupied working as director of the tennis programme at the Israel Tennis Centre's eight facilities across the country, and he was now too busy to look after the national men's team, Tennis Association chairman David Harnik told me on Friday.

The Shavut holiday event against Belgium will be the second Davis Cup encounter between the two countries, with Israel having won 3-0 in 1982. (Because of wet weather, the two "dead" singles were not played). Israel had a first-round bye this year, while Belgium started with an impressive 4-1 victory over Ireland in Dublin.

Zoref took over as national men's coach last summer, after spending nine years as head coach at the ITC's Ramat Hasharon headquarters. Mansdorf and Bloom were among the first group of beginners coached there by Zoref when the ITC first opened its doors exactly 10 years ago, and Naor joined them soon afterward. Zoref — who was himself among the country's leading juniors — also had a long stint as the association's national youth coach.

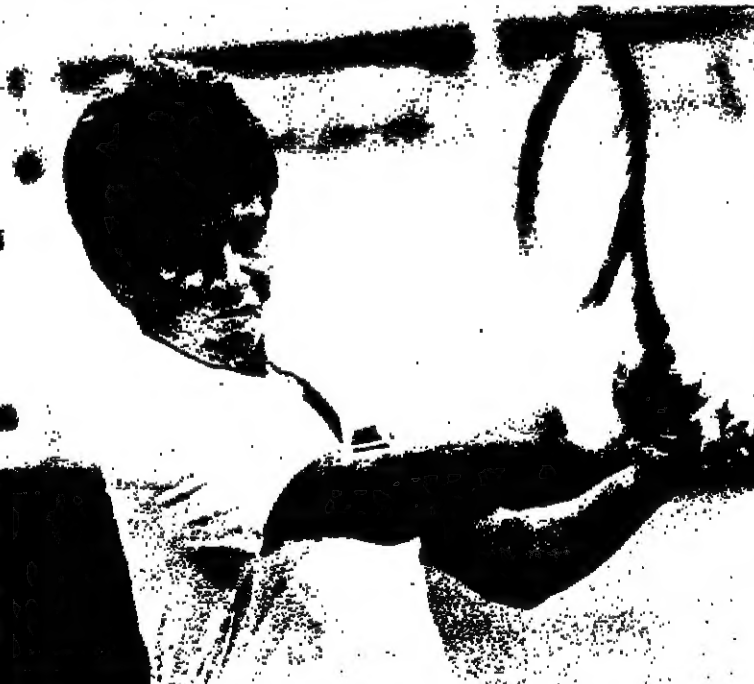
Steele took Israel through 20 Davis Cup ties, of which they won 11, gradually establishing themselves as one of the top nations in European zonal competition. Israel reached the zonal finals in both 1984 and last year, after getting as far as the semis for three consecutive years.

Harnik lauded Steele's tremendous contribution to the development of Israeli tennis during the past 15 years, particularly his outstanding success as Davis Cup coach.

Should Israel fulfil expectations and get past Belgium, their semi-final opponent will be the winner of the second-round match between Nigeria and Holland in Lagos. Nigeria are one of the two European Zone qualifiers from the newly-established African Zone. Their highly-rated team of Ndaka Odzor and Tony Mmoh showed Nigeria's

strength recently with a crushing 5-0 first-round home triumph against Norway, in which they did not even concede one set to the visitors.

With Dutch star Michiel Schapers, opting out of the tie in Lagos in order to warm up for Wimbledon — he defeated Boris Becker on grass at the 1985 Australian Open — Nigeria seem to be in with a chance of beating the Netherlands. In that



PAST STUDENT. — Amos Mansdorf goes back ten years with Israel's Davis Cup coach Shlomo Zoref.

case, they would have to come here for the semi-final against Israel. The two nations were scheduled to meet at Ramat Hasharon in 1979, but Nigeria withdrew at the last minute, reportedly because of objections to Israel's close sporting ties with South Africa. In the event of a match between Holland and Israel, the Dutch would have ground advantage.

On the trail of the ever-changing golf ball — from gutties and featheries to high tech

By PETER DOBERNEIKER

One of the more endearing and enduring items of golf lore concerns the invention of the gutta percha golf ball. The story goes that a Scottish missionary in India sent a statue of the Hindu god Vishnu home to his brother in St. Andrews, and that in order to protect the work of art he packed it in chips of gutta percha.

The recipient, the Rev. Dr. R. Paterson, used the gutta percha to make soles for his children's shoes and later, in 1845, moulded one of those soles into a ball and played golf with it on the Old Course.

It all sounds highly improbable. Although gutta percha is like rubber, in that it is the sap of a tree, the resemblance ends there because gutta percha becomes hard and brittle on contact with the air. It has to be

beated to make it malleable. It is, therefore, not particularly suitable for protecting valuable ornaments in transit and quite inappropriate for making shoes.

Historians have raised further objections, one of them being that R. Paterson was born in 1829 and therefore unlikely to have achieved the style and title of Rev. Dr. by the age of 16.

We do not know for sure who invented the gutta percha golf ball, but whoever he may have been the game of golf owes him a considerable debt. It was a quarter the price of the old featherie and much more durable. Mind you, its extreme hardness played merry hell with wooden club-heads and it took some time for club makers to evolve suitable implements for the unyielding missile.

But once compatibility between the new clubs and the improving gutta percha ball had been achieved the game of golf was revolutionized. Scoring standards improved and, more importantly, the game was brought within the financial reach of a large new market.

The surge in popularity in the game explains why we are now celebrating the centenary of so many golf clubs, or continents as the Americans prefer.

Incidentally, Appleby Gutter and Woburn Sands Golf Club is not due to celebrate its centenary until the year 2012 but on 20 June it is marking an even more remarkable 100th anniversary, the centenary of its professional, Charles Whitcomb, who was born on 23 December, 1886. The club is holding a pro-am on the 18th hole of the club's golf with the gutta percha ball and had to adjust to the lively rubber-core ball when it was introduced shortly after the turn of the century.

Careful expertise was required

with the gutta and with the compound balls of gutta percha and cork or rubber which followed, technically called gutties although nowadays we use the word guttie to describe the whole range of balls based on gutta percha.

They came in different weights and sizes, which meant that you had to experiment to find the combination to suit your game, and they also had to be matured for at least six months to bring them to peak condition. Golfers laid them down, like claret, and from time to time bounced them on the floor to see if they were ready for play.

We have not quite gone back to that degree of ballmanship but today's players do have an extraordinary range of balls from which to choose: high balls, low balls, regular

Hana wants a family — after she takes Wimbledon

VIENNA (Reuters). — Czechoslovak tennis star Hana Mandlikova wants to settle down and have a family — but she has some unfinished tennis business to which she wants to attend first.

Her overriding ambition is to win Wimbledon. "Ever since I was a little girl, Wimbledon was the absolute tops for me," Mandlikova, 24, said in a recent interview with the Czechoslovak youth weekly *Moody Svet*.

"But I still plan to give up tennis in time so that I can have children and master the everyday life that in the end awaits even the best tennis player," she added.

Wimbledon is the only one of the four major championships that the impish, dark-haired girl from Prague has not won. She had her first U.S. Open success last year and won the Australian and French titles prior to reaching the 1981 Wimbledon final, which she lost 6-2, 6-2 to American Chris Evert Lloyd.

She blames that defeat on inexperience. "I did so want to win, and I could have, but then I was only 18 and had too little experience to be able to solve all the situations with a cool head," she says.

"But I think I'm reaching the point where nothing can put me off-balance." Mandlikova currently ranked number three in the world after Martina Navratilova and Evert Lloyd, went on.

"The decisive thing for us at the top in a match is psychic endurance and experience. At the moment they're still ahead of me — but I'm younger."

Talking about her private life, Mandlikova said she had no boy friend at present, though she had no lack of suitors.

"There's no problem getting to know somebody, the problem is to keep a relationship going for a lon-

COMMENT:

TV's misuse of influence

The pitiful anguish of those victims of cruel injustice, Maccabi Haifa, at being "robbed" of the soccer league championship will pass. Players and fans convinced themselves that Haifa really won, and were even backed up by sportsman Mayor Arye Gurriel, as he poured consoling oil on the emotive fire. And the villainous ref was loudly thrashed by the "loser-winners" for awarding the winning goal to Tel Aviv.

What will not pass is the longer-term aspect of this episode. It goes beyond the controversy whether the championship goal should have been disqualified because of offside, or the curiously overlooked fact that the "victimized" Haifa eleven were outclassed virtually throughout the game.

More important and lasting is the incitement against referees' "dubious" decisions as regularly featured in TV sports coverage. This time, last Saturday night, as Haifa booted, the leading TV sports commentator Nissim Kiviti went over, and over, the controversial goal, and handed down his supreme court ruling: "The referee had committed a 'serious error.' At best, the ref was found guilty of wrongful interpretation of the offside rule."

True enough, referees, like judges, are not above criticism, and refs, or linesmen, who have to make split-second decisions, immune from crowd pressure, can make mistakes. That is their prerogative.

But it is also a "serious error" for the TV sports dept. to regularly second-guess a referee's decision. That is the last thing Israeli sports crowds need. There's a straight line from attacks on refs to disrespect for law in general. The TV treatment of the disputed goal of the same day was of course not aimed at inciting or fanning emotions.

And, TV sports is singled out from the rest of the media because of its enormous popularity and influence. It didn't mean to incite, but it did; if it continues in this vein it will be doing a disservice to Israeli sport.

Soviet upsets Wilander

PARIS (AP). — Andrei Chesnokov of the Soviet Union upset defending men's champion Mats Wilander, while Chris Evert Lloyd led a quartet of seeded women into the quarter-finals yesterday at the French Open tennis championships.

Chesnokov, considered the best Soviet player since Alex Metreveli, the 1973 runner-up at Wimbledon, eliminated Wilander 6-2, 6-3, 6-2, further damaging the hopes of a Swedish victory.

Lloyd overcame ninth-seeded Gabriela Sabatini of Argentina 1-6, 6-3, 6-0, no. 3 Steffi Graf continued her romp through the draw with an easy 6-1, 6-3 over American Pam Casale; no. 5 Hana Mandlikova of Czechoslovakia defeated Peru's Laura Gildemeister 6-1, 6-3; and no. 13 Carling Bassett of Canada eliminated Mercedes Paz of Argentina 6-4, 2-6, 6-0.

Besides Chesnokov, 11th-seeded Martin Jaite of Argentina also moved into the fourth round of the men's draw, downing Spain's Jose Clavet 6-0, 6-1, 6-3.

The 16-year-old Graf, who has yet to drop a set in the tournament, took just 46 minutes to make Casale her 24th consecutive victim.

The West German right-hander has won her last four tournaments and has lost just 10 games in her first four matches at Roland Garros.

Lloyd, seeking her second straight French Open title and a record seventh on the red clay

courts of Roland Garros, had all she could handle with Sabatini, whom she defeated in the semifinals of the French Open last year.

Sabatini, who was 4 years old when Lloyd first won at Roland Garros in 1974, gave the veteran fits with her power game from the baseline and her strategically perfect trips to the net. And, in order to win, Lloyd was forced to play one of her best matches since she won the crown on this same court a year ago.

Mandlikova won the French Open in 1981, and she is the reigning U.S. Open champion. Her victory yesterday puts the Czechoslovak right-hander against Graf in the quarterfinals, while Lloyd will play Bassett.

Chesnokov appeared in only five tournaments outside his native Soviet Union last year.

The 20-year-old right-hander has climbed steadily to 81st in the world rankings since playing his first foreign tournament in 1984.

Veterans' victory

CAESAREA. — Seniority proved no handicap for members Louis Zinn and Eli Kirschner who very comfortably won Friday's better-ball tournament with a fine 12-under-par 61 net.

RUGBY. — The South African Springboks beat the New Zealand Cavaliers 24-10 in the fourth Test in Johannesburg to win the series 3-1.

In an earlier tie, Wales defeated Fiji 22-15.

ATHLETICS. — Steffen Kramnik of Bulgaria set a women's world high jump record of 2.06 metres in an international athletics meeting in Sofia yesterday.

She beat the old mark of 2.07 metres achieved by her compatriot Ludmila Andonova in East Berlin in July 1984.



Hana Mandlikova (AFP telephoto)

THE JERUSALEM POST

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Checks and balances

IT WILL BE a major feat if the government today will remember that in addition to the Avraham Shalom affair there is current business to dispose of, such as finally getting around to appointing a new Bank of Israel governor — 11 days after the incumbent should have packed up and gone. Chances are that the crisis will be an excuse for continuing the degrading political horse-trading over a whole slew of appointments to public office, most of which should be apart from and above party politics.

The roster includes the Bank of Israel governor, one or two deputies, the chairman of the bank's advisory committee, one or two (unnecessary) deputy ministers of finance and — last, but not obviously first — a new attorney-general. Within a few months, a new state comptroller will also have to be appointed.

The Bejski Commission's recommendation that the Bank of Israel governor be replaced and the latest crisis have a common element. The incumbent governor was called upon to resign because he failed to exercise his statutory independence and acquiesced in massive breaches of the law. In the GSS affair, the Likud has mounted an assault on the attorney-general for the opposite reason — because he insists on exercising his independence and on upholding the rule of law.

Even without the present crisis, the repercussions of which may yet wrack the country for a long time, it would have been imperative to maintain those checks and balances that keep our polity democratic. Under a national unity coalition in which the government is not held in check by an effective parliamentary opposition and in which 25 Knesset members are ministers or deputy ministers, our political system can remain democratic only if there is no diminution in the political independence of those few high public offices endowed with it. Making them subject to political barter deals mocks that independence and will set a precedent for a long time to come.

The independence of the Bank of Israel governor — tenuous and limited as it is — rests on two pillars. In the normal course of events, the governor, who by law is obliged to act within the framework of government policy, but may have his own view of what best promotes the long-term objectives of that policy, can go public without criticism of current government conduct. As a last resort — never so far used — he can threaten to resign or actually do so.

A political appointee, however qualified he may be professionally, can do neither. He cannot candidly go public with a critique of current government policy, because he would be bound to loyalty to the political party that appointed him. He cannot resign, or threaten to do so, except at the risk of ending the political career that promoted him to the office of central bank governor. Such civic courage would be too much to ask for anywhere, and certainly in Israel today.

It may be argued that the office makes the man, that a display of independence, far from being detrimental to his political standing, may conceivably even enhance it, and that political affiliation need not disqualify any of the candidates if they are otherwise competent. That may be so, particularly in the case of MK Adiel Amori, who is Labour's favourite for governor, and of MK Yigal Cohen-Orad, who has been mentioned as one of the Likud's candidates. Both are professionally qualified for the job, and both might try to assert such independence as the position affords them. But neither would be perceived as independent — not by the government, not by the public, not by the banking and business community, and not abroad. Both would therefore be demoted to being no more than high-ranking Treasury officials.

In the existing political constellation, it is probably a pipedream to expect that a governor will be chosen whose standing rests exclusively on his professional authority, intellectual integrity and the genuine independence that comes from the job, rather than the other way round. The choice will probably be the result of political horse-trading that will hardly add to the prestige of whoever is eventually appointed.

But even if that seems to be inevitable, it is still not necessary to reduce the wheeling and dealing to a still lower level. There are deputy governors to be appointed as well. They, at least, could be professionals, beholden to no political party and might serve as some check upon a politically appointed governor. They might even serve him to assert an independence that, on his own, he could not bring to bear, and to re-establish the authority and prestige of the central bank which, under Moshe Mandelbaum, has taken a severe battering.

It may be too much to wish for — but it would be a great relief, in the present crisis, if this unnatural coalition government would for once raise itself a small step above the petty political calculus.

HOLOCAUST FILES

(Continued from Page One)

tion and should be opened immediately.

It is understood that Schwalb, now a pensioner, makes successful fund-raising missions to West Germany for the Hildesheim, and that this may underlie the labour federation's unwillingness to do anything that may anger him.

Alsberg points out that Israel is demanding that the UN open its archives to researchers on the Holocaust and Nazi subjects. Everywhere, material on the Holocaust is open, "but we ourselves have an important archive which remains closed," says Alsberg.

There is a fear in the state archives that Schwalb may be interested in "arranging" the files deposited in the Lavon Institute before allowing state

archivists access to them. The value of the material will be diminished by such "arranging," the state archivists fear.

The continued closure of the Schwalb papers contravenes the 30-year rule embodied in the Archives Law.

On 16 May, Kessar wrote to Alsberg allowing the state archives to microfilm "80-100" files. Alsberg replied on 25 May demanding full access. His demand was reinforced on Thursday by the Supreme Archives Council's unanimous decision to demand that all the material be opened.

Observers believe that the council's pressure and the hint of possible proceedings against the Lavon Institute, in line with the archives Law, may suffice to resolve the matter soon.

WORLD CUP

(Continued from Page One)

police searched their bags for weapons or other banned objects. There were no immediate reports of incidents. Journalists entered through a special gate and had to walk through a metal detector.

The pre-match show, called "Mexican Festivity," included Mexican folk dancing by senior citizens in flowing white lace gowns, Mariachi bands and children's choirs.

Some fans wore huge straw sombreroes filled with fake chili peppers in the style of the Mexican World Cup mascot "Pique".

Traffic was heavy on surrounding streets hours before the noon kick-off as fans arrived for the pre-match festivities.

Flags and tinsel streamers decorated the overhanging roof of the stadium. Streets and sidewalks outside the arena were a colourful car-

nival of shouting vendors and cheering fans.

Street vendors offered national flags and World Cup souvenirs as the crowds streamed past into the stadium, which is located some 16 kilometres from central Mexico City. The weather was mild and overcast.

Above the stadium, the flags of Italy, Bulgaria, Mexico and FIFA fluttered in the light breeze. Before kick-off, thousands of fans high at one end of the stadium waved their red, white and green national colours and began chanting "Viva Mexico." Fans of other nations responded with boos and whistles.

A group of about 25 Argentinians, some wearing the sky blue and white jerseys of their national team, paraded outside the stadium with a 30-metre banner supporting their team.

Many other fans entered the stadium draped in the national flags of Italy, Mexico, West Germany and others of the 24 nations competing for soccer's biggest trophy.

The following is a monologue by an imaginary General Security Service officer.

LIKE MOST people, I suppose, my attitudes have been largely shaped by my profession. Like most of my colleagues, I have a military background. I am familiar and comfortable with a hierarchical structure, with chains of command, clearly defined tasks and aims designed to guarantee and maximize that one common goal of "security," which I assume I share with most of our society.

I refer to "security" in the lower case, although I am well aware that for many, and not only the cynical, the concept has become a sacred cow used to cover a multitude of sins. Although the public debate of the past few days has trotted out ad nauseum how "important," "selfless" and "valiant" our work is, I would be deceiving you and be untruthful to myself if I did not state that a concern with security is a constant, central and very real element in my outlook on life.

Unlike the army, for instance, which spends most of its time preparing for war and fights only sporadically, much of my own and my colleagues' professional lives can only be described as a continuous battle, be the enemy terrorism or any other kind of subversion. Our fieldwork is invariably dangerous and often distasteful. If not downright foul. Fear is an almost constant companion; the consequences of failure and mistakes intimidating.

AFTER HAVING been discouraged for so long, it seems from recent statements by Israeli leaders that the time has come for Diaspora Jews to express their opinion on Israeli political issues. This is healthy and desirable, since all Jews have a legitimate interest in what happens in a country whose destiny vitally affects both their future and their conscience.

A matter of deep concern to me, and I would think to many other Diaspora Jews, is Israel's system of government, which is hampered by the inability to produce viable majorities in the Knesset. The root cause is an electoral system which results in splinter parties holding the government hostage to permanent blackmail.

READERS' LETTERS

NUCLEAR POWER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — While following the plethora of reports during the past weeks regarding the nuclear calamity at Chernobyl and the conflicting statements by our people, in positions of leadership, one feels, like Alice in our Jewish Wonderland, that things are curiously and curiously. Our resident Dr. Strangelove assures us that a nuclear meltdown would be virtually impossible in an Israeli nuclear plant. Our Energy Minister, Moshe Shahal, tells us that we must continue studying the nuclear power option despite the disaster at the Chernobyl reactor and the decision should be taken on the basis of the nuclear plant's viability.

Meanwhile, in France our redoubtable prime minister was negotiating to purchase two French reactors and the most important consideration was if we would get favourable credit terms. And MK Micha Harish, "Mr. Energy," according to Mark Segal, says Israel really needs a nuclear station for a whole range of reasons but gives none of them.

One would think that the time has come for the Israeli public to become involved in the decision-making process and take it away from those politicians and scientists who have various vested interests in seeing nuclear facilities built here. We who live in this tiny country recognize that there is no place to which we can be evacuated should even a minor breakdown occur, much less one of the dimensions of Chernobyl or Three Mile Island.

MURRAY SWERDLOVE
Netanya.

AN ISRAELI ARCHITECTURE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — Gerard Heuann's article of May 22 on "An Israeli architecture" was salient on two important points: first, it asserted a strong connection between architecture and its underpinning culture as a whole, and second (and more specifically), it pointed to an important and influential architect who was operating within a Jewish mind-set, that is Louis Kahn.

If there is to be "an Israeli architecture," to be sure it must reflect the underlying culture as well as the mode of thought that is specifically Jewish.

However, for these very two reasons, I doubt that the students of architecture at the Technion or at Bezalel (the future architects of Israel) would benefit much from applying Kahn's work today or in the near future. Kahn, for example, was

applying his Jewish mind to a post-war culture largely influenced by an existential philosophy current in that era.

The students of architecture would be better off studying the current philosophical and cultural debate: structuralism, deconstruction, simulations and the like (philosophers: Foucault and Baudillard) and a current architectural response that is of the Jewish mind-set — Daniel Libeskind — one that is seeking an appropriate response.

For one to arrive at "an Israeli architecture," it makes sense for the reasons Heuann states to study the "culture" and "the response" of our day and age, asking the questions that we should be asking today instead of those asked 30 years ago.

CHRISTIAN BERGUM,
Pulbright Lecturer in Architecture
Jerusalem.

BIASED REVIEWS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — My heart nearly bled for Philip Gillon on reading his Telereview of April 25, "Hard man to hate." The problems which prejudice poses!

Mr. Gillon obviously did not live in Eretz Yisrael during the British Mandate, nor did he particularly bother to study our struggle for independence; otherwise he would not have written that Yehiel Kadishai "belonged to IZL and Lehi." For Mr. Gillon's belated information, those were two different underground organizations, and one could not conceivably be a member of both simultaneously.

ELLIE BERGMAN
Tel Aviv.

DAVID RICHARDSON

There is also the element of secrecy. For some, no doubt, it is a fetish. For most of us, however, it is an essential habit, a way of life which you have no choice but to impose on your family. Most of my neighbours do not know what I do and my children, as young as they are, have learned to protect my anonymity. It is one of the instinctive mechanisms of defence one develops over years of working in such a tense and hostile environment. Its sudden removal is acutely unsettling.

I SUPPOSE I can claim that the people I work with are as a body, an above-average cross-section of our society. That they are highly motivated, I think is obvious, but this should not be misunderstood. The nature of our battle against terrorism requires a measure of aggression without which we would not be successful. It, too, has become a mechanism of defence. I think most of us find this unpleasant and have never really become used to it. But none of us really questions its basic necessity.

This brings us, of course, to the question of degree, to the potential conflicts between necessities in the field, on the one hand, and the principles of law and the purity of arms, on the other. This might make some smirk — but be it principle or myth, it is a very real and constant concern. In no small measure, it is these concerns which seem to prevent the entire Ashkelon bus affair from being laid to rest.

Much has been made over the past week of the damage caused and the dangers posed by all the public exposure and debate and of further investigation. To maintain that there has been no damage and that there is no danger would be as foolhardy as denying that much of the brouhaha stems from the intense discomfort of having suddenly to shed the comfortable cloak of professional anonymity.

Among all the snippets of information about the affair that have leaked into the press have been details which indicate that, at least among the senior echelons of the service, rival factions have emerged. That a structured organization such as ours, especially one charged with covert intelligence, cannot tolerate such factionalism, should be obvious. Given the personalities and records of the commanders involved, I think it is just as obvious that the differences among them were over the questions of principle already referred to, rather than a mere power struggle, as some politicians are now suggesting.

The strength and success of the General Security Service has always been derived from the quality of its manpower and the clarity of its goals. As long as these remain sound, any rivalries at the top of the pyramid, should they exist, will not affect the men in the field any more than they would soldiers reading in the daily newspapers about the ambitions of their commanders in the Israel Defence Forces general staff. We have always had a principle that the slightest doubt about conduct has brought with it immediate suspension until clarified. Like other professions, personal and professional integrity are the standards by which we relate to each other. The intensity of our professional experiences and no doubt our general personalities have produced an *esprit de corps* which outsiders envy. It is precisely in order to maintain these that all doubts should be removed.

What does concern me is that the intensity of public scrutiny and the ruthlessness of legal examination will hamper the bold decision-making in the field, which is so often necessary for successfully combating terrorism. This has become something of a syndrome in the army, leading to the *rosh katan* (literally "small head" or an unwillingness to accept responsibility) phenomenon, among some young soldiers.

At the risk of appearing tedious, I can only stress that very often one is faced with the necessity of making

serious decisions alone and with very little, if any, time to consider. We cannot all be lawyers or moral philosophers and yet our business is precisely in that grey area between morality and necessity where they rightly test their principles.

POLITICS AND IDEOLOGY: aside, it would also be pointless to ignore that the prolonged policing of the territories has also affected us, as it has our society in general. This has no bearing on my views, since I believe we have no choice but to be there and that no really clear-cut solution is possible. It is not my business professionally to consider whether we should be there or not. While we are there, however, there is work to be done. But I cannot deny that our presence there exacts a price within the service, although it is rarely, if ever, discussed as such.

The Lebanon War was a far starker experience. The losses we took there, the long, frightening nights of surveillance, arrests and interrogations of an increasingly fanatical enemy, the dread we left at home with our families and the bitter dissent within society — these marked us individually and as an organization no less than it did others. It etched in the red lines of personal and professional conduct which perhaps had become eroded. It is those lines which lie behind the titillating exposures of the GSS during last week.

The writer is a member of the editorial staff of The Jerusalem Post.

system would have the additional beneficial result of opening the doors of the Knesset to better-qualified MKs, since personal ability would prevail over unwavering adherence to the party line as the criterion for the selection of candidates. The automatic election of mediocre MKs by the party leadership instead of by the electorate through the award of a "safe" slot on the list would be felicitously terminated.

RECENT instances demonstrate how a few thousand bribed or fanatical voters spread over the whole country enable unsavoury characters to gain access to the Knesset.

A significant obstacle to a much-needed reform of the electoral law may unfortunately lie in the instinct for self-preservation of some of the present MKs who, having gained their seats through the old system, view the winds of change with terror.

Failure by major parties to avail themselves of the unique opportunity afforded by the government of national unity would be tantamount to dereliction of their duty to assure the future well-being of Israel.

The writer is secretary-general of the council of the Jewish community of Spain.

Change the system

SAMUEL TOLEDANO

Examples abound, but the recent spectacle of a parliamentary group made up of exactly two MKs bringing about the downfall of a government has demonstrated beyond a doubt the absurdity of the present electoral law.

The system may have been inherited from the ideology of the Yishuv era, when it was felt desirable that any faction, however minute, be

allowed to be heard and represented. What was admissible when the state was not yet born is invalid when a stable government based on a strong parliamentary majority is a *sine qua non* for a country in which momentous decisions have to be adopted more frequently than anywhere else in the world. The record to date is more than ample proof that instability breeds irresponsibility.

IT MAY BE argued that Jewish ingenuity has so far prevented major disasters which would imperil the very existence of the state; but this is neither an adequate defence of a flawed system nor a desirable recipe for the future.

To resist change, some have argued that a modification of the electoral law would tend to exacerbate tensions between the religiously observant and non-observant sectors within Israeli society. This important issue could be resolved by adequate provisions in the electoral law, without detracting from the primary objective of achieving a working government. There are abundant precedents of technical solutions within a majority voting system to disprove the argument that proportional representation is the only means of avoiding internal strife.

The adoption of a majority voting

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

THE LEONARD DAVIS INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
Annual International Conference:
The Future of the Nation State in the Middle East

In memory of Eliezer Beerli
June 2, 3, 4, 1986
PROGRAMME

Monday, June 2, 1986
Morning 9:00 a.m. — 1:00 p.m.; Chairman: Mr. Bernard Chertok
memorial to Eliezer Beerli
Prof. Eli Kedourie: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW
Prof. Gabriel Bar-Dor: THE STABILITY OF THE NATION-STATE IN THE MIDDLE-EAST
Prof. Emanuel Shinar: THE FUTURE OF THE ARAB NATION-STATE AND THE ISLAMIC CHALLENGE

Afternoon 3:30 — 6:00 p.m.; Chairman: Professor Nissan Oren
Prof. Gad Gilber: THE ARAB NATION-STATE: THE BALANCE OF POPULATION AND RESOURCES
Prof. Meir Heger: THE STATE, MILITARY AND DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY
Prof. Mordechai Abir: SAUDI ARABIA: THE CHOICE BETWEEN MOSLEM, ARAB AND SAUDI ARABIAN IDENTITY

Tuesday, June 3, 1986
Morning: 9:00 a.m. — 1:00 p.m.; Chairman: Prof. Zvi Schiffman
Dr. Ametzia Baran: NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL CHARACTER IN IRAQ UNDER THE BA'ATH
Dr. Avi Feitich: THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS DEBATE ON THE JEWISH STATE
Prof. Shlomo Avineri: CHANGES IN THE SELF PERCEPTION OF ISRAEL AS A NATION-STATE

Afternoon 3:30 — 6:30 p.m.; Chairman: Prof. Y. Harikabi
Mr. Matti Steinberg: THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE
Dr. Helga Baumgarten: PLO LEGITIMACY AND THE PROBLEM OF A PALESTINIAN STATE

Wednesday, June 4, 1986
Morning 9:00 a.m. — 1:00 p.m.; Chairman: Dr. Gabi Sheffer
Prof. Leonard Binder: THE COLLAPSE OF THE NATION-STATE IN LEBANON
Prof. Itamar Rabinowitz: THE LEBANESE STATE: PRESENT AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES
Prof. Yehoshafat Harikabi: THE FUTURE OF THE NATION-STATE IN THE MIDDLE-EAST: A CONCLUDING EVALUATION

The public is cordially invited
The conference will be held at the Senate Hall, Mount Scopus Campus of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem
The conference is supported by the United States Information Service in Israel of the American Embassy in Israel

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- ★ "Life on the Desert Frontier," an intriguing description of past and present lifestyles along the fringes of the Judean Desert
- ★ "Profile of a Nature Photographer," — his experiences and perspectives on wildlife in the land of Israel
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